THE

[illegible]Y PERSIAN POETS OF INDIA

(A. H. 421-670)

BY

[illegible]BĀL ḤUSAIN, M. A., B. L., PH. D.

Lecturer in Persian, Patna College and
Sometime Lecturer in Persian,
Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

TY.

Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Patna.

THE
EARLY PERSIAN POETS OF INDIA
(A. H. 421-670)

CONTENTS.

TRANSLITERATION.

The following system has been followed in this work :—

ا	a.	ض	ḍ.
ب	b.	ط	ṭ.
پ	p.	ظ	d͟h.
ت	t.	ع	‘ .
ث	t͟h.	غ	g͟h.
ج	j.	ف	f.
چ	c͟h.	ق	q.
ح	ḥ.	ک	k.
خ	k͟h.	گ	g.
د	d.	ل	l.
ذ	ḏ.	م	m.
ر	r.	ن	n.
ز	z.	و	w, ū.
ژ	z͟h.	ه	h.
س	s	ء	,.
ش	s͟h.	ی	ī, y.
ص	ṣ.		

PREFACE

Persian poetry produced in India before the advent of the great poet Khusraw has not received its proper share of attention. The importance of this period has not been fully recognised, and writers on the history of Persian literature have up till now done scant justice to the early Indo-Persian poets. There are some valuable monographs on the later Persian poets of India but for the earlier ones we have to go to the old-fashioned tadkiras. Unfortunately, these too are not easy of access, for most of them are available to us only in manuscripts.

The literary history of the later period cannot be justly studied without a reference to the past and it is extremely desirable to acquaint ourselves with the lives and works of the early Persian poets of India. Under the fostering care of the Muslim kings these early Indo-Persian poets have played a respectable part in the uplift of Persian literature in India and we must be thankful to them for the splendid heritage they have left us.

In this book I have dealt with a limited period extending from A. H. 421 to A. H. 670.

This is an important period for it saw the birth and development of the Indo-Persian poetry. It is unfortunate that the complete poetical works of only two early Persian poets—Abu'l Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān—have been preserved. The Dīwāns of other poets have been lost, but we, however, come across extracts from the writings of the other early poets in great many Persian historical and biographical works. The much maligned Persian taḏkira-writers have done a distinct service to Persian poetry of this period by preserving in their works a large number of the verses of these poets.

The materials for this book have been mainly derived from the many manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore. The task was difficult and the obstacles many. The Persian biographers give very meagre information even about the lives of the of the poets and do not at all throw any light on the influence which had gone to shape their thought and expression. I have tried my best to ascertain many particulars from references in the verses of the poets themselves and have endeavoured to keep the book as free from defects as possible.

How far I have succeeded in attaining my aim must remain for others to judge. Perhaps the reception of the present work may give encouragement enough to lead me to the preparation of another work in which I propose to deal with the Indo-Persian poets from A. H. 670 down to the beginning of the Mughal rule. This work was originally written as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the Patna University and turned into a work of considerable bulk. For various reasons I am at present placing before the public its important portions without any modification.

I now take the much wished-for opportunity of expressing my thanks to all whom gratitude is due. One of the first inspiration to write on the Indo-Persian poets came from my professor, Dr. 'Azīm-u'd-Dīn Aḥmad. He generously undertook to guide me in my work and I am greatly indebted to him for his advice, guidance and help. I also desire to express my gratitude to Sir Edward Denison Ross, a distinguished authority on the Indo-Persian poets, and to Dr. Hādi Ḥasan of the Aligarh Muslim University for some very valuable hints and suggestions. I will be failing in my duty if I do not take

this opportunity to thank Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University and Mr. F. R. Blair, M. A., I. E. S., Director of Public Instruction, Bihar. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha with his great love for Persian literature afforded me every facility in my work. I am under the deepest obligations to him for his constant and ungrudging help. Mr. F. R. Blair has watched the progress of my researches in the field of Persian literature with great sympathy. I am deeply indebted to him for his help and encouragement. Lastly, I am thankful to Mr. Walī-u'd-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, Librarian, Oriental Public Library, Patna, for his generous loan of many books.

Patna College,
Patna.
July 15, 1937.

Iqbāl Husain.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The period extending from A. H. 421 to A. H. 670 is an important period in the literary history of India, for it saw the birth and development of Persian poetry in this country. Strangely enough it is just a handful of scholars who know aught about the flowering of a great school of Persian poetry in this age.

The invasions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd led to the annexation of the Punjāb to the G͟haznawide kingdom. It soon became a Muslim province and many Persians and Turks settled down in the Punjāb, and Lāhore became their chief political and literary centre. The language of these emigrants was pure Persian, and after they had settled down in various towns of the Punjāb they formed a small colony of an aristocracy speaking the purest Persian, uncontaminated by Indian idiom. This cultural tradition remained patent l the time of Amīr K͟hūsraw; and is responsible for the purity of diction of

these early poets as distinct from the ornate and Indianized Persian of later writers.

The Ghaznawide Sulṭāns, who had inherited from Maḥmūd the traditional love of art and literature, created a literary atmosphere in the Punjāb. Attracted by the brilliance of their court ambitious scholars and rising poets from Afghānistān, Persia, Khurāsān and Transoxiana migrated to the Punjāb to settle down there. In a short time Lāhore rivalled Ghaznī itself as a centre of literary activity, and here was laid the first foundation of the Indo-Persian poetry. The first Indian poet to write in Persian was Nukatī, who lived during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's son Sulṭān Mas'ūd. All the subsequent Ghaznawide Sulṭāns were equally great lovers of Persian poetry. The reigns of Sulṭāns Ibrāhīm, Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, Arslān Shāh and Bahrām Shāh are particularly important for under their patronage wrote some of the greatest Indian poets of Persian as Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, who

have been acknowledged as masters of style and diction.

The passing of the Indian province of the Punjāb from the House of G̲h̲aznī to that of G̲h̲aūr and the subsequent accession of Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-Dīn to the Indian throne destroyed the importance of Lāhore as a literary centre. Although Quṭb-u'd-Dīn ascended the Indian throne at Lāhore, he went to Delhi in a few days. Henceforth Delhi became the capital of Muslim India, and the venue of the future literary activity of the Indian people. Among the Slave Kings of this period who took interest in Persian poetry were Sulṭān Īltutmis̲h̲, his son Rukn-u'd-Dīn Fīrūz, Nāṣir-u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd and G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲-u'd-Dīn Balban. Sulṭān Balban's son Prince Muḥammad was a youth of promising talents, and evinced great taste in literature. Under the liberal patronage of these kings flourished Tāj-u'd-Dīn, S̲h̲ihāb-u'd-Dīn, and 'Amīd-u'd-Dīn. These great poets who preceded K̲h̲ūsraw, have contributed in no small measure to the evolution of Persian poetry in India.

These early Persian poets of India cultivated Persian poetry with catholic taste and in all their compositions retained the integrity of Persian idiom. They were writers of good and chaste Persian, and were unfamiliar with "the absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast" of the subsequent florid writers, who have been branded by Browne as the writers of "Baboo Persian". Their style is plain and simple and in all their verses they have shown to their best advantage, their power, their resources, their fertility and their fine artistic instincts. It is extremely necessary for every serious student of Persian literature to acquaint himself with the lives and works of these early Persian poets of India.

In this book I have dealt with the lives and works of these poets and have shown the part played by them in the keeping up of a great poetical tradition in Persian. Under the patronage of some of the G͟haznawide and Slave

Kings of India, they have produced works of real beauty and have left a deep impress upon Persian literature in general. Their lives and achievements have afforded me an interesting field of research and my greatest pleasure lies in the fact that in this work I have painted them as they are, without leaving out their scars and wrinkles.

CHAPTER II.

NUKATĪ OF LĀHORE.

The earliest traces of a growth of Persian literature in India can be found as early as the beginning of the 5th century A. H. It was, as I have said before, in the congenial atmosphere of the Punjāb that it first took its root, shot up, and expanded. The munificence of the Ghaznawide Sulṭāns led to the growth and spread of an indigenous literature in Persian in India. Under their fostering care and patronage there arose from amongst the emigrants a large number of local poets in Lāhore. The earliest among them was Nukatī of Lāhore.

We know very little about this poet and the biographers do not throw any light on his life and work. 'Awfī* is the earliest authority who makes a mention of this poet and all the subsequent "tadkira"-writers have merely copied his

*Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. 11, pp. 57-58.

account. ‘Awfī in his Lubāb-u’l-Albāb describes him amongst the poets of “آل سبکتگین”. His full name according to ‘Awfī was Abū-‘Abd-u’llāh-Ruzbah b. ‘Abd-u’llāh Alnukatī. He was a native of Lāhore. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī* and Taqī Auḥadī† corroborate ‘Awfī’s account. All these accounts of the poet are very meagre and vague and do not help us in any way in building up his biography. Taqī Auḥadī states that he is reckoned amongst the contemporaries of Sulṭān Mas‘ūd b. Ibrāhīm. This statement seems to me wholly erroneous, for ‘Awfī gives one of his “qaṣīdas” which is composed in praise of a much earlier sovereign, Sulṭān Mas‘ūd Shahīd.

Now let us ascertain who was this Ghaznawide Sulṭān who was known as Sulṭān Mas‘ūd Shahīd. Certainly he was not Mas‘ūd b. Ibrāhīm, with whom Taqī Auḥadī confuses him. ‘Awfī‡ in his Lubāb-u’l-Albāb makes a mention

* Haft Iqlīm, fol. 103b.

† ‘Urafāt-u’l-‘Āshiqīn, fol. 257a.

‡ Lubāb-u’l-Albāb, vol. 11, p. 28.

of Sulṭān Mas'ūd with all his laudatory titles of Amīr Shahīd Dhahir-u'd-Dawlah Mujīr-u'l-Millat Abū S'ād Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd. It thus becomes clear that the Sulṭān under whom Nukatī flourished was no other than Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd and not Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm. After his last despairing effort to withstand his growingly powerful enemies near Merw in A. D. 1040, which ended in utter rout, Mas'ūd in a panic prepared to fly to India before the terror of a Seljūq invasion. As he crossed the Indus, the prince was seized by mutineers, and after a brief captivity in the fort of Kīrī was done to death in A. D. 1040. That is the reason why this Prince is remembered with the title of "Shahīd" or martyr.

Having found out the period during which he flourished let us turn our attention to the poet's verses. 'Awfī * says that he was such a great poet that it is very difficult to describe all his poetic attainments. This does not surely appear to me as a critical estimate of the poet's

*Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. 11., p. 57.

ability. It is customary with the Persian biographers, when they cannot find sufficient material to construct the biography of a poet, to close it with a wholly vague and hyperbolic estimate of his poetic attainments.

The only specimens of Nukatī's verses which have been preserved by 'Awfī are a "qaṣīda," a "qiṭ'a" and two verses. These are not sufficient for one to form much idea as to his poetic style and his art but they show that he is not extravagant in his use of images and words. The far-fetched images, the hazarded meanings and the over-fanciful way of putting thoughts do not appear in his verses. Since they are the earliest specimens of Persian verse-making in India I quote below his "qaṣīda*" composed in praise of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd.

روی آن ترک نه رویست و بر او نه برست
که برین نار بیارست و بران گل ببرست
بطراز قد و خرخری زلفهن دراز
رستخیز همه خوبان طراز و خزرست

* Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. 11, pp. 57-58.

ور بجائی مه و خورشید بود یار مرا
اندرین معنی هم جای حدیث و نظرست

ماهکی سرو قد سهم تن و لاله رخست
ماه کی نوش لب و نار بر و جعد ورست

مهر او را دل ما مستقرست این نه عجب
آن شگفتست کجا مستقر او مقر است

وان عجب تر که طلسمیست هوا را که همی
بنهه سوزد اگر او را چو سقر مستقرست

وان طلسمی که هوا زو بدل اندر می سوخت
دوستی خسرو شیر اوژن پیروز گرست

ملک عادل مسعود خداوند ملوک
که بفضل از ملکان بهتر و بیشتر ست

Being the first in the field Nukatí must have exercised a good deal of influence over his contemporaries and his successors. It is really a pity that so few of his verses are known to us.

Having done with the earliest Persian poet of India, we shall, in the next two chapters, deal with the two most celebrated Persian poets who were born and brought up in India. Their elegant verses have been praised by all, and being accomplished poets they occupied conspicuous positions under the Ghaznawide Sulṭāns.

CHAPTER III.

ABU'L-FARAJ OF RŪN.

The distinction of being the first great Indian poet who wrote verses in Persian unquestionably belongs to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. His full name according to 'Awfī* was Abu'l-Faraj b. Mas'ūd-u'l-Rūnī. He was born and brought up in Lāhore. This statement of 'Awfī, who is the earliest writer to give a notice of the poet has been challanged by the biographers of more recent date. Luṭf 'Alī† in his Ātashkadah confuses the poet's native town Rūn with Rūnāh, a village in Dasht-i-Khāwarān, while Riḍā Qulī Khān‡ states that he belonged to Runāh, a village in the district of Nīshāpūr. The authors of the Tārīkh Firishtah§ and Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā|| mention him as a native of Sīstān.

---

* Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. 11., p. 241.

† Ātashkadah, p, 122,

‡ Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. 1., p. 70.

§ Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 49.

|| Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā, fol. 4b.

These mistakes are apparently due to a confusion with an earlier poet of the same name, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Sagzī, whose patron was Abū 'Alī Sīmjūr, one of the victims of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's inordinate ambition. The notices which these biographers devote to our poet are singularly jejune and lacking in precise information. Their statement as to the poet's place of origin is demonstrably incorrect and confused. To take one instance only I quote below a few lines from the Tārīkh Firishtah* to show how its author confuses Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Sagzī :—

"استاد ابوالفرج معاصر سلطان ابراهیم بود سیستانی الاصل است و بعضی غزنوی نیز گفته اند و عنصری شاگرد اوست و در زمان دولت ابو علی سیمجوری که او از امرائی سامانیه بود ظهور یافت و مداح آن خاندان بود و مردی بغایت محتشم و صاحبجاه بود و از آل سیمجور بدو انعام و اکرام بی اندازه عائد شدی"

This Abu'l-Faraj of Sīstān whose pupil 'Unṣurī was, occupied an exalted position in the

* Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 49.

court of Abū 'Alī, the governor of Khurāsān under the Sāmānides* and is said to have died in A. D. 1002†. This is but one example of the confusion created by some of the biographers, and we need not multiply instances which are worse still. The birth-place of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī was neither Sīstān, nor Ghazna, nor Khurāsān, but Rūn, a village near Lāhore, as I shall presently prove with reference to more reliable authorities. Of the older works from which information might be expected, the Chahār Maqālah does not give any biographical details about him. It only enumerates him amongst the distinguished poets of the Ghaznawide‡ period. The oldest work which consecrates a notice to the poet is the Lubāb-u'l-Albāb. 'Awfī explicitly states that the poet was born and brought up in Rūn in the district of Lāhore§. The Rāḥat-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr‖, an unique History of the

* Haft Iqlīm, fol. 89b.

† Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm, fol. 16a.

‡ Chahār Maqālah, p. 28.

§ Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. 11, p. 241.

‖ Raḥat-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr, p. 57.

Seljūqs fully supports this statement of 'Awfī. His *nisbah* according to Badāunī* is derived from Rūn, an ancient village, now ruined, in the district of Lāhore; and the author of the Haft Iqlīm† mentions him among the distinguished inhabitants of Lāhore. The authors of the Mir'at-u'l-'Ālam ‡ and the Majm'a-u'n-Nafā'is§ also support this statement of Badāunī. The Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī|| and the Burhān Qāt'i¶ call Rūn a town of Hindūstān and the birth-place of Abu'l-Faraj. This is sufficient to prove how unfounded is the contention of the biographers who dispute the assertion of 'Awfī as to the birth-place and origin of the poet.

The materials for Abu'l-Faraj's biography are far less copious than we could wish, and of his birth and early life we know practically nothing.

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, vol. 1., p. 37.

† Haft Iqlīm, fol. 102a.

‡ Mir'at-u'l-'Ālam, fols. 439b-440a.

§ Majma-'u'n-Nafā'is, fol. 3b.

|| Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī, fol. 294b.

¶ Burhān Qāt'i, p. 370.

At present no data are available for determining accurately when he was born. All the biographers though they give him a place in their works, unfortunately omit to mention the date of his birth. He seems to have lived through the greater portion of the fifth century A. H. under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawi and his son and successor Sulṭān Mas'ūd 111 to both of whom he has addressed a large number of his panegyrics. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm succeeded his brother Farrukhzād in A. H. 450 or A. H. 451, and died according to Ibn-u'l-Athīr* and the author of the Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā† in A. H. 481. According to the authors of the Nidhām-u't-Tawārīkh, a manual of History in Persian, the Tārīkh Guzīdah ‡ and the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī § Sulṭān Ibrāhīm died in A. H. 492. The date as given by Ibn-u'l-Athīr and others does not seem to be correct, for there is a coin of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm in

* Kāmil, vol. X , p. 110

† Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā, vol. IV., p. 43.

‡ Tārīkh Guzīdah, p. 404.

§ Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, fol. 122a.

the British Museum* which on the obverse exhibits the name of Caliph Al-Mustadhhir Billah, as contemporary with Ibrāhīm and this Caliph did not ascend his own pontifical throne till A. H. 487. It is clear from this that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm lived and ruled subsequent to this epoch. If we adopt the latter and more probable date for the accession of Sulṭān Mas'ud to the throne, the statement of the Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm† that Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī died in A. H. 489, becomes necessarily incorrect, for he addresses Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm in several poems as the reigning sovereign. The author of the Mir'at-u'l-'Ālam‡ says that Abu'l-Faraj died in A. H. 482. This date also does not seem to be correct to me, for the same reason. The statement of the author of the Nishtar-i-'Ishq§ that Abu'l-Faraj was alive till A. H. 490 seems to be more near the truth. It seems reasonable and probable that Abu'l-Faraj was alive till after A. H. 492.

* Catalogue of Coins (Lane-Poole), vol. IX, p. 241.
† Suḥuf Ibrāhīm, fol. 16b.
‡ Mir'at-u'l-'Ālam, fol. 440a.
§ Nishtar-i-'Ishq, fol. 32b.

Concerning the particulars of Abu'l-Faraj's life little information is to be gleaned from the biographers. However, if we cannot fill in the details the main outlines are clear enough. Abu'l-Faraj seems to have been a poet of considerable repute. The titles of "افضل الفضلا" and "أستاد" with which he is always remembered by his biographers are significant and bear an eloquent testimony to his deep learning and great accomplishment. The great artistic beauty of his verses shows that the evaluation of his greatness by these biographers was not a wrong one.

The authors of the Haft Iqlīm,* the Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā†, the 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn‡, the Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā§, the Ātashkadah‖ and many other biographers state that in consequence of malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj,

* Haft Iqlīm, fol. 278a.

† Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā, fol. 4b.

‡ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 664a.

§ Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. 1., pp. 515 and 540.

‖ Ātashkadah, p. 147.

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān fell under the displeasure of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and was cast into prison. This story in my opinion is an invention of the later biographers and has nothing to do with fact. The source of this story is a "qiṭ'a*," to be found in Mas'ūd's Dīwān. I quote below some of the relevant verses:—

[این قطعه بر سبیل گله به ابوالفرج نصر رستم نوشته شد]

بوالفرج شرم نامدت که بجهد
بچنین حبس و بند افگندی
تا من اکنون ز غم همی گریم
تو بشادی ز دور میخندی
شد فراموش کز برای تو باز
من چه کردم ز نیک پیوندی
مر ترا هیچ باک نامد از آنکه
نوزده سال بوده ام بندی
ز آن خداوند من که از همه نوع
داشتت بر تو بسی خداوندی
گشته او را یقین که تو شدهٔ
با همه دشمنانش سوگندی

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 255.

چون نهالیت بر چمن بنشاند
تا تو او را ز بیخ بر کندی
وینچنین قوتی تراست که تو
پارسی را کلی شکاوندی
و آنچه کردی تو اندرین معنی
نکند ساحر دماوندی
کردهای تو نا پسندیده است
تا تو زین کردها چه بر بندی

In the concluding verse of this "qiṭ'a" Mas'ūd threatens the perpetrator of this evil deed that he would soon reap the harvest of what he had sown. He says :—

زود خواهی درود بی شبهت
بر تخمی که خود پراگندی

This second imprisonment of Mas'ūd-i-S'ăd-i-Salmān during the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd was due to his association with Abū-Naṣr-i-Fārsī and had also greatly to do with the administration of Chālandar as he himself says in a "qaṣīda" addressed to Muḥammad Khatībī, one of his friends and commissioner of Quzdār.

چوبلکریم همهدون پس از قضای خدای

بلای ما همه قزدار بود و چالندر*

It will be too much to suppose that Abū-Naṣr-i-Fārsī, who occupied the exalted post of deputy-governor and commander-in-chief under Shīrzād, fell under the displeasure of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and was punished simply through the insinuations of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. There must have been some political reasons behind the downfall of Abu-Naṣr-i-Pārsī. It looks absurd that Sulṭān Mas'ūd, who was well known for his sagacity would have disgraced Abū-Naṣr and sent his adherents to prison simply on account of the malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. It was certainly beyond the powers of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī who enjoyed no political powers at the court to do any harm to Abū-Naṣr-i-Fārsī who was a great favourite of the king and a privileged intimate of the court. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād, was Abu'l-Faraj's favourite pupil,

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 75.

and they always remained on the best of terms as appears from an examination of the Dīwāns of the two. Even in his "prison-poems" Mas'ud expressed his regret at the absence of Abu'l-Faraj and a longing to see him. He says :—*

بوالفرج ای خواجه آزاد مرد
هجر وصال تو مرا خیره کرد
دید ز سختی تن و جان آنچه دید
خورد ز تلخی دل و جان آنچه خورد
ای به بلندی سخن شاعران
هرگز مانند تو نا دیده مرد
روی توام از همه چیز آرزوست
خسته همی جوید درمان درد

It seems quite impossible that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī would have been instrumental in sending a pupil so devoted to him to prison.

Let us now ascertain the exact person who in the "qiṭ'a" quoted above is reported to have brought about the downfall of Abū-Naṣr-i-Pārsī

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 54.

and also through his mischievous effort sen
Mas'ūd-i-S'ād to prison. The earliest authori
ties, Nidhāmi 'Arūḍi and 'Awfi, do not mak
any mention of it. Amin Aḥmad Rāzi is th
first biographer who introduces this story. H
writes:—*

مسعود بابوالفرج رونی معاصر بوده و ابتدای بین الجانبین
بهال اتحاد و مصادقت نهایت محکمی را داشته چنانچه
زین دو بیت مفهوم می گردد

ای خواجه بوالفرج نکنی یاد من
تا شاد گردد این دل ناشاد من

چون هر صعودی هبوطی و هر شغلی عزلی در پی دارد
بعد از چند وقت که مسعود به نحس مبدل گردیده باعث
را از ابوالفرج دانسته چنانچه درین اشعار اشارتی بدان
کرده می گوید :—

بوالفرج شرم نامدت که ز خبث
بچنین حبس و بندم افکندی

The other "tadkira"—writers merely relying on
the author of the Haft Iqlim attribute this evil
deed to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi. The most pertinent

* Haft Iqlīm, fo 278a.

question which now arises is what was it that led the author of the Haft Iqlīm to suppose that Mas'ūd-i-S'ād was sent to prison for the second time, through the efforts of Abu'l-Faraj-i Rūnī? The above quoted "qiṭ'a" which is the source of error occurs in Mas'ūd's Dīwān just below another "qiṭ'a" which is in praise of Abu'l-Faraj, the poet, beginning with :—*

ای خواجه بوالفرج نه کنی یاد من
تا شاد گردد این دل ناشاد من

It seems to me practically certain that Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī possessed a copy of Mas'ūd's Dīwān in which the following rubric, which is available in the lithographed edition, was missing :—

این قطعه بر سبیل گله به ابوالفرج نصر رستم نوشته شد

Since there are two more "qiṭ'a" connected with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī both immediately preceding this "qiṭ'a," the author of the Haft Iqlīm was led to believe that it was also addressed to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. The verses of the first "qiṭ'a" prove that Mas'ūd was on the very best of terms with

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 254.

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, while from the second it appears that Abu'l-Faraj who is spoken of in this "qiṭ'a" was an enemy of Mas'ūd. Without much consideration Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī came to the conclusion that both these "qiṭ'a" were addressed to the same person viz. Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. As one of these "qiṭ'as" is couched in the friendliest of terms, while the other savours of enmity, it became very easy for the author of the Haft Iqlīm start romancing that in the beginning there existed a great friendship between Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, which later on turned into enmity and Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī became the cause of Mas'ūd's misfortune. This story was handed down to the later biographers and the legend finally received the stamp of verity from Riḍā Qulī Khān's statement that this "qiṭ'a" was addressed to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, though the statement is not followed by any evidence at all.

The rubric in the lithographed edition of Mas'ūd's Dīwān clearly states that the poem is

addressed to one Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr b. Rustam. This Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr b. Rustam was the governor of Lāhore to whom Mas'ūd has addressed several "qaṣīdas." As Mas'ūd's imprisonment was due to political causes it seems probable that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr b. Rustam would have brought this about. Perhaps the following threat conveyed in the last verse of the above quoted "qiṭ'a" by Mas'ud.

زود خواهی درود بی شبهت
بر تخمی، که خود پراگندی

was fulfilled after sometime, for I find the following verses in a "qaṣīda"* addressed by Mas'ūd to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr b. Rustam.

ای کهنه ور زمانه غدار خیره ساز
بر خیره تیره کرده بما بر تو روزگار
بر بندگان اگر بستیز است کار تو
بر خواجه عمید چرائی ستیزه کار
بر نصر رستم از چه ستمکار گشته
در مهتری نبود ستمگر بهیچکار

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 101.

آن ابوالفرج که داد جهان را ز غم فرج
اکنون هم از جهان تو برآری همی دمار

Mirzā Muḥammad Khān says "that he (Abu'l-Faraj of Mas'ūd's "qiṭ'a") cannot be identified with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī as the authors of many "tadkiras" have supposed"*. He also doubts that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr b. Rustam, the governor of Lāhore, is intended. He says that from an elegy composed by Mas'ūd-i-S'ād on the death of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr-i-Rustam it appears that he died in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Mirzā Muḥammad Khān does not quote any verse from this elegy, and I have not been able to trace out this elegy in the lithographed edition of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān. To me it seems practically certain that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runī was not at all connected with Mas'ūd's second imprisonment and as stated in the lithographed edition of Mas'ūd's Dīwān it was Abu'l-Faraj-i-Naṣr b. Rustam who brought

* Monograph on Mas'ūd-i-S'ād, p. 62.

about the downfall of Abū-Naṣr of Pārs, which led to the dismissal and imprisonment of all his *proteges*, amongst whom was Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Sālmān.

The chief patrons of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī were Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and Sulṭān Mas'ūd and to them his panegyrics are mostly addressed. He also addressed his poems to princes of the royal house and nobles of the court. Some of his patrons are not well known and require biographical notices. The kings, princes and noblemen to whom the poems are addressed are :—

(1) Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.—The titles on coins issued during Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's long reign are many and very high-sounding. Simplest is Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd. Another is Abū-Mudhaffar Ibrāhīm. Others are Sulṭān-u'l-'Ādham ; Dhahīr-u'd-Dawlah ; Nāṣir-u'd-Dawlah ; Dhahīr-u'l-Millat and Qāhir-u'l-Mulūk, Saiyid-u's-Salātīn. On the death of Farrukhzād, in A. H. 450, he ascended the throne. According to the author

of the Ḥabīb-u's-Siyar,* he was a prince of such piety and devotion that he joined together Rajab, Sh'abān and Ramaḍān, and fasted three months in the year. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm entered into a reconciliation with the Seljūqians, and it was agreed that neither party should entertain designs against the other's kingdom; Sulṭān Malīk Shāh Seljūqī giving his own daughter in marriage to Ibrāhīm's son Mas'ūd. According to the Tārīkh Guzīdah,† and the Ṭābaqāt Nāṣirī‡ Sulṭān Ibrāhīm died in A. H. 492. According to the Kāmil § and the Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā ‖ he died in A. H. 481. One of his coins prove that he was alive till A. H. 487, and the greatest probability is that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm died in A.H. 492. According to the Tārīkh Firishtah,¶

* Ḥabīb-u's-Siyar, vol. II., Juz. IV., p. 32.

† Tārīkh Guzīdah, p. 404.

‡ Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, fol. 122a.

§ Kāmil, vol. X., p. 110.

‖ Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā, vol. IV., p. 43.

¶ Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 49.

Sultān Ibrāhīm had 36 sons and 40 daughters. He gave his daughters in marriage to learned and religious men.

(2) Sultān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm.—He was the great-grand-son of Sultān Maḥmūd. According to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān he bore the surname of 'Alā-u'd-Dawlah, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī in one of his "qaṣīdas" in praise of this monarch styles him as follows :—

علائی دولت بو سعد روی لشکر حق
سنای ملت مسعود پشت عهد انام*

Mas'ūd-i-Sā'd† also tags the same title on to his name. He says :—

خسرو عالم علاء دولت مسعود
آنکه بانصاف پادشاه جهان است

Mas'ūd-i-S'âd, who has written a large number of "qaṣīdas" in his praise always styles him

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 82.

†Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 23.

with no title other than that of 'Alā-u'd-Dawlah. According to the Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā * his surname was Jalāl-u'd-Dawlah. The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri † styles him as 'Alā-u'd-Dīn. In view of the testimony of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān it is certain that Sulṭān Mas'ūd bore the surname of 'Alā-u'd-Dawlah. He is remembered by the same surname of 'Alā-u'd-Dawlah by the author of the Tārīkh Firishtah ‡ The title of Jalāl-u'd-Dawlah is not to be found on any of his coins. The titles which appear on the coins of Sulṭān Mas'ūd are very various. They are Abū S'ād; Sulṭān-u'l-'Ādham; Sulṭān 'Ādil ; 'Alā-u'd-Dawlat-wa-Sanā-u'l-Millat ; Dhahīr-u'l-Imām; Nidhām-u'd-Dīn ; Mawla-u's Salātīn. According to the Tārīkh Firishtah Mas'ūd was of a benevolent and generous disposition. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, abrogated such as he

---

* Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā, vol IV., p. 43.

† Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣīrī, fol. 122b.

‡ Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 49.

thought objectionable and substituted others founded on more humane and enlightened principles. All the historians agree that he died in A. H. 508.

(3) Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd.—He was a son of Sulṭān Ibrâhim and was decidedly the most talented and capable of his sons. The conquest and campaigns in India were entrusted by Sulṭān Ibrâhīm to this prince. Praising him for his great valour Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī* says :—

روان رستم اگر با زره بحرب شود
گریز خواهد از او چون کبوتر از مضراب

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān describe his many conquests and countless feats of courage in India. Referring to his doughty deeds Abu'l-Faraj † says :—

شاهان سر افراز نهادند بدو روی
رایان قوی رای سپردند بدو مال
بحری است که موج سپهش گرد برانگیخت
از قلعهٔ رودابه و از لشکر جیپال

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 15.
† Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 77.

Saif-u'd-Dawlah's conquests greatly strengthened the Islamic power in India as Abu'l-Faraj * says :—

زان پس که این دیار بر اسلام هشت ماه
دارالفرار بودی دارالقرار شد
باران رحمت است ملک بر غبار شرک
کایدون هوای ملک بدو بی غبار شد

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm desirous of rewarding Saif-u'd-Dawlah for his Indian conquests conferred upon him the viceroyalty of India. Both Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān composed congratulatory poems on this occasion. Abu'l-Faraj's "qaṣīda" does not give any date of this auspicious event but Mas'ūd-i-S'ād † in his poem explicity states that this event took place in A. H. 469. He says :—

که پادشاهی صاحبقران شود بجهان
چو سال هجرت بگذشت تاوسهن وسه جدم

From a "qaṣīda" of Mas'ūd ‡ in praise of this

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 36.

† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 125.

‡ Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 188.

prince it appears that the Caliph had also conferred upon him the official titles of 'Izzu'l-Milla and Ṣanī'-u-Amīru'l-Mu'minīn.

ای ترا خوانده صنیع خود امیرالمومنین
همچنین بادا جلالت بر زیادت همچنین
سیف دولت مر ترا زین پیشتر بوده لقب
عز ملت را بر افزون کرد امیرالمومنین

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān who was a favourite poet of Saif-u'd-Dawlah and accompanied him on many occasions on his military expeditions gives better descriptions of his conquests than Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī.

The Chahār Maqālah * states that "in the year A. H. 572 [A. H. 480 ?] it was maliciously reported to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm that his son Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd intended to go to 'Irāq to Malikshāh; that the king's jealousy was roused thereat, and so worked on him that he suddenly caused his son to be arrested, bound and interned in a fortress." Thus was cut short the successful career of one of the most talented

* Chahār Maqālah, p. 44.

princes among the Ghaznawides. It is really strange that the historians do not mention anything about the life and deeds of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, and had we not possessed the "qaṣīdas" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān he would have been entirely forgotten.

(4) Khwājah Manṣūr b. Sa'īd b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī, was the grandson of Shams-u'l Kufāt Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī, the famous minister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawi and his son Sulṭān Mas'ūd. His uncle 'Abd'ur Razzāq b. Aḥmad, the son of the famous Maymandī, was a minister during the reign of Sulṭān Mawdūd. In a "qaṣīda"* by Abu'l-Faraj-i Rūnī in praise of this nobleman there occurs the following verse :—

چرخی که جهانهست از او اختر جدش
صدر یکه شکوهی است ازو بالهی مم را

From this verse it is clear that his grandfather and uncle were distinguished noblemen,

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 10.

and they were no other persons than S͟hams-u'l Kufāt Aḥmad and 'Abdu'r Razzāq. 'Awfī * has wrongly mentioned Mas'ūd for Sa'īd and Aḥmad u'l-Ḥasan for Aḥmad b. Ḥasan and describes him as K͟hwājah Manṣūr b. Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad u'l Ḥasan u'l Maymandī. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān rightly describes him as the son of Sa'īd. Praising him for his great statesmanship Mas'ūd† says:—

منصور بن سعید که از شرم رای تو
خورشید وماه روی کشد در حجاب تو

It appears from Abu'l-Faraj's "qaṣīdas" that Manṣūr was a powerful minister. The poems in his praise by Mas'ūd-i-S'ād clearly prove that he was much in the confidence of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān has addressed a number of "qaṣīdas" seeking his intercession for his release from the second imprisonment. Muk͟htārī of G͟haznā has also composed "qaṣīdas" in his praise.

* Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II., p. 244.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 195.

(5) Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Ṭāhir b. 'Alī b. Mushkān was the Wazīr of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm. According to 'Awfī* "he filled the chief seat of the Ministerial Office with much distinction". He is not mentioned in the Athār-u'l-Wuzarā or the Dastūr-u'l-Wuzarā. In the poems of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī his name and title appear as Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Ṭāhir b. 'Alī. In one of his "qaṣīdas" Abu'l-Faraj † says :—

عماد دولت و دین طاهر علی که دلش
یسار دارد بهش از یسار آتش و آب

In another "qaṣīda" he says ‡ :—

ثقةالملک خاص و خازن شاه
خواجه طاهر علیک عهن الله

From this verse it appears that he was the king's confidential secretary and treasurer before he became a Wazīr. According to Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī§ it appears that he was the

*Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol., II p. 246.

†Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 16.

‡Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 108.

§Chahār Maqālah, p. 45.

grandson of Mushkān. This Mushkān was the father of Abū-Naṣr Manṣūr, who was the secretary to Sulṭān Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd. Sanā'ī, Mukhtārī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān have also composed poems in his praise. It was at the intercession of this minister that Mas'ūd-i-S'ād was released from his second imprisonment.

(6) Qiwām-u'l-Mulk Nidhām-u'd-Dīn Abū Naṣr-i-Haibat-ullah Fārsī was a courtier of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and his son Sulṭān Mas'ūd. After the death of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm when Mas'ūd became king, he conferred the viceroyalty of India, on his son and successor Amīr Shīrzād. Abū Naṣr who enjoyed the greatest confidence of the king was made the deputy-governor and commander-in-chief, to help Shīrzād in his administration of India. After a short period he fell under the displeasure of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and was disgraced. All his adherents were dismissed from their posts and were punished. According to 'Awfī,*

*Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol., I, p. 71.

he built a great Khānqāh at Lāhore. Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī died in the reign of Arslān Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād† in a "qaṣīda" in praise of Arslān Shāh says :—

بو نصر پارسی ملکا جان بکو سپرد
زیرا سزای مجلس عالی جز آن نداشت

From this verse it is evident that his death must have taken place between the years A. H. 509-511, which was the period of Arslān Shāh's reign.

(7) Khwājah Abū S'ād Bābū, more properly, 'Imād-u'd-Dawlah Abū S'ād to whom Abu'l-Faraj has addressed several "qaṣīdas" seems to have been one of the leading men of his time. He is not mentioned in any historical work, and it is only through the panegyrics of Abu'l Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān that his name has been preserved, He flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and bore the king's

†Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 40.

Kunyat. Abu'l-Faraj* says :—

کنیت شهریار و نام رسول
عرض أو را همی عطا باشد

In another "qaṣīda" in his praise Abu'l Faraj† says :—

سعادت پیشکارش در مساکن
سلامت پاسبانش در مراحل
موافق در همه احوال با او
جمال صدر دیوان رسائل

From the last couplet it appears that he held the very high post of "صدر دیوان رسائل", which post corresponds to the post of foreign secretary of the present day.

(8) Abu'l-Qāsim-i-Khāṣṣa was one of the favourite courtiers of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and was his Khāṣṣa. It is not certain what were the functions of Khāṣ or Khāṣṣa. Perhaps they corresponded to those of a page-in-waiting or lord high Chamberlain or something of the kind.

---

*Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 34.

†Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, pp. 72-73.

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān has also addressed "qaṣīdas" to him.

(9) Abū-Rus͟hd Ras͟hīd K͟hāṣṣ was another K͟hāṣṣa of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Paying tribute to his greatness* Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī says:—

ناصر حق جمال ملت و ملک
صدر دنیا رشید روشن رای

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād also composed "qaṣīdas" in his praise. The following verse of one of his "qaṣīdas" makes it clear that he bore the title of 'Umdat-u'l-Mulk.†

عمدهٔ مملکت رشید که ملک
زو بیفروخت چون ز مهر جهان

The lines below prove that he was a great general‡ and flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.

و اینچنین معجزهٔ تو داری و بس
شاد باش ای سپهبد سلطان

*Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 121.

†Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 164.

‡Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 165.

بادشاه بوالمظفر ابراهیم
که نیارد چو او هزار قران

(10) 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad was the "Wazīr" of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm during the latter part of his reign.* He was a great favourite of the king and was held by him in great honour, as Abu'l-Faraj says† :—

عمید ملک آنکس که چشم ملک
بدو ننگرد الا به احترام

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād has also composed "qaṣīdas" in his praise. From one of these "qaṣīdas" it appears that he was a descendant of the House of 'Abbās‡ :—

خواجه عبدالحمید بن احمد
مفتخر گوهر بنی عباس

(11) Muḥammad b. Bihrūz enjoyed the greatest confidence of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. He was the son of Bihrūz b. Aḥmad, the famous "Wazīr."

---

*Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 49.

†Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p 80.

‡Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 105.

He was himself a famous courtier of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and enjoyed great reputation for his generosity. Abu'l-Faraj* says :—

بحری که میغ رزق بجودش مطهر گشت
صدری که سطح ملک برائش معمداست
آزادهٔ که در خور صدراست و بالش است
فرزانهٔ که لائق گاه است و مسنداست

About him Mas'ūd-i-S'ād† says :—

تونیکه چشم وزارت چو تو ندید وزیر
تونیکه لفظ کفایت چو تو نداد نشان

(12) Abū Ḥalīm-i-Zarīr-ī-Shaybānī seems to have been one of the great generals of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm. From Abu'l-Faraj's "qaṣīdas" it appears that he took an active part in the Indian campaigns. Abu'l-Faraj‡ says :—

آنکه بفراخت شرع را گردن
آنکه بفزود ملک را بازار
آنکه آسیب تیغ او برسید
از لب سند تا بدریا بار

---

*Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 30.

†Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 157.

‡Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 49.

Celebrating Abū-Ḥalīm's superiority * over the other generals of the world Abu'l-Faraj says :—

کراست از همه شاهان خسروان جهان
چنین سپهبد رزم آزمای نیزه گذار
روان رستم دستان بسود نتواند
غبار حلقهٔ آورد او گهه پیکار

Perhaps no other form of Persian poetry has been more criticized by the modern writers than the "qaṣīda". According to one of these critics a "qaṣīda", however perfect structurally, can seldom arouse much enthusiasm save in the heart of him whose praises it celebrates. As caustic is the remark of another critic who declares that rhetoric in verse rather than true poetry has been the achievement of all the "qaṣīda"-writers, who frankly wrote for monetary reward. I myself shared the views of these critics, but a greater insight into this kind of poetry made me see the artistic beauty of the "qaṣīda" form of verse. It is no doubt true

*Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 48.

that in old days, the hollow insincerity and the comparative insecurity of a court poet's life required him to show himself equal to every occasion, however trifling, to flatter his patron. He must congratulate the royal eye which first detected the new moon of ʻĪd, and likewise it was his duty to condole the king on the death of his horse. If it fluttered the vanity of his patron his mouth was sometimes filled with gold or pearls as the reward of his successful poem. This made him imagine that he could earn an honest living by writing poetry; but let us not suppose that all that he wrote is devoid of finer qualities of poetry. We must also remember that all the "qaṣīdas" are not panegyrics, many of them being religious and philosophical. The style of quite a good number of "qaṣīdas" of more recent date are sometimes obscure, artificial, and even pedantic, but in the classical style they bear no trace of these modern weaknesses. The "qaṣīdas" in classical style show a wonderful command over the

resources of the language. At times the language becomes coarse, but the verses never lack high aims and noble execution. Instead of far-fetched and unintelligible conceits, the classical "qaṣīda"-writers, as is proved by the verses of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī and Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, preferred to draw illustrations from common objects and familiar things. The unconventional similes and metaphors do not in any way lessen the fire, passion and the great sublimity of their "qaṣīdas." The court poet in those days fulfilled to a certain extent the functions proper to the journalist in modern times, and the kings and statesmen of the middle ages patronised poets as their modern successors patronise the printing press. The panegyrics of the poets created a public opinion in favour of the poet's patron and passed his name from mouth to mouth, and if he was wise and discriminating in his selection a fraction of the poets' immortality also fell to his share.

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī was essentially a "qaṣīda"-writer and his "qaṣīdas" which display both originality and grace are the best examples of the classical "qaṣīdas". Amongst the classical "qaṣīda"-writers he occupies a very distinguished position and has given a lead in "qaṣīda"-writing to the greatest poets who came after him. He also wrote a number of "rubā'īs" and a few "ghazals". I could not appreciate any of the ghazals in his Dīwān, but some of his "rubā'īs" seem to me specially distinguished and bear the impress of a great individuality.

All the contemporary poets recognised Abu'l-Faraj as their master. He did not owe his skill in the art of verse making to any poet, but in due course he presented to the world his brilliant pupil, Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, who is the glory of all who use the Persian tongue. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād always expressed his deep debt of gratitude which he owed to his master. He says :—

نازم بدانکه هستم شاگرد تو
شادم بدانکه هستئی استاد من

In another "qiṭ'a" addressed to Abu'l-Faraj, Mas'ūd-i-S'ād pays a great tribute to his master's poetic skill. Some of the verses of this "qiṭ'a"* are as follows :—

خاطر خواجه بوالفرج بدرست
گوهر نظم و نثر را کان گشت
ذهن باریک بین دور اندیش
سخن او بدید و حیران گشت
رونق و زیب شعر عالی او
حسن اسلام و نور ایمان گشت
راه تاریک مانده روشن شد
کار دشوار بوده آسان گشت
معجز خامهٔ اش چو پیدا شد
جادویهای خلق پنهان گشت
خاطر من چو گفتهٔ او دید
از همه گفتها پشیمان گشت
من چه گویم که آنچه او گفته است
شرف سعد و فخر سلمان گشت

All the biographers of Abu'l-Faraj acknowledge his pre-eminence and recognise him as a

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 254.

great master of style in "qaṣīda"-writing. I have no intention of mentioning all of them, but shall here refer to a few only, so as to give a general idea of his greatness. Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī* enumerates him amongst the distinguished poets of the Ghaznwide period, 'Awfī † says that Anwarī, "the prophet" among the "qaṣīda"-writers, strove to imitate his style and constantly read his Dīwān. This statement is corroborated by the Tārīkh Guzīdah,‡ the Haft Iqlīm§ the Majma'-u'l-Fuṣaḥā || and the Ātashkadah.¶ According to the Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā he possessed a vigorous style, which Anwarī imitated, while the author of the Ātashkadah says that if any proof is needed to show his greatness it is enough to say that Anwarī followed him in

*Chahār Maqālah, p. 28.

†Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, Vol. II. p. 241.

‡Tārīkh Guzīdah, p. 815.

§Haft Iqlīm, fol. 102a.

||Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā. Vol. I., p. 70.

¶ Ātashkadah, p. 122.

"qaṣīda"-writing and imitated his style. 'Awfī* quotes the following verse from a fragment of Anwarī to show that he constantly consulted Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān:

باد معلومش که من بنده بشعر بوالفرج
تا بدیدستم ولوعی داشتستم بس تمام

This "qiṭ'a" has been quoted in the Haft Iqlīm† and is also to be found in Anwarī's Dīwān‡. The "qiṭ'a" runs as follows:—

زندگانی مجلس عالی در اقبال تمام
چون ابد بی منتهی باد و چو دولت بر دوام
آرزومندی بخدمت پیش ازان دارد دلم
کاندرین خدمت بشرح آن توان کردن قیام
هست امید بصنع و لطف حق اسمهٔ
کاتصالی باشدم با مجلس شاهی بکام
باد معلومش که من خادم بشعر بوالفرج
تا بدیدستم ولوعی داشتستم بس تمام
شعر چند الحق بدست آورده ام فیمامضی
قطعهٔ از عمر و زید و نکتهٔ از خاص و عام

*Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II, p. 241.
†Haft Iqlīm, fol., 102b.
‡Anwarī's Dīwān, p. 271.

چون بدان راضی نبودستم طلب میکرده ام

در سفرگاه مسیر و در حضرگاه مقام

دی همین معنی مگر بر لفظ من خادم برفت

با کریم‌الدین که هست اندر کرم فخر کرام

گفت من دارم یکی از انتخاب شعر او

نسخهٔ بس بی نظیر و شیوهٔ بس با نظام

عزم آن دارم که روزی چند بنویسم که نیست

شعر او حرفی که آسان اندرون افتد بدام

لیکن از بی کاغذی بیتی نکردستم سواد

هست امیدم که این خدمت چو بگذارد بنام

حالی او در خانه دارد نیک و بد یکدسته

نزد من خادم فرستد یا بمدت یا بوام

از سر گستاخی رفت این سخن با آن بزرگ

تا بدین بی خردگی معذور دارد والسلام

In another Anwarī* has said :—

از متانت خیل اقبالت چو شعر بوالفرج

وز عذوبت مشرب عیشت چو نظم فرخی

According to ‘Awfī† there is to be found in one of Anwarī's‡ "qaṣīdas" beginning :—

*Anwarī's Dīwān. p. 754.

† Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II., p. 241.

‡ Anwarī's Dīwān, pp. 387 and 388.

ویحک ای صورت مأصور نه بافی نه سرائی
بل بهشتی که بدنیات فرستادهٔ خدائی

a verse, which is but a mere copy of one of the verses of Abu'l-Faraj. 'Awfi does not give either the verse of Anwarī or Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. However, in Anwarī's "qaṣīda" referred to above, there occurs the following verse:—

گفته با جملهٔ زوار حدیث در تو
مرحبا بر مگذر خواجه فرود آی و در آی

It is a very close imitation of a verse of Abu'l-Faraj*:—

گفته با زایران صریر درت
مرحبا مرحبا در آی در آی

This hemistich† "مرحبا مرحبا در آی در آی" occurs in more than one place in Anwarī's Dīwān. The presence of such verses in Anwarī's Dīwān is a definite proof that he was greatly influenced by Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī's verses. The charge of plagiarism which has been brought

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 121.
†Anwarī's Dīwān, p. 411.

against him by some of the biographers* cannot be substantiated.

'Urfi's intolerable conceit and arrogance prevented him from acknowledging the superiority of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūni. The following verses which are an example of 'Urfi's conciet, prove that he regarded Abu'l-Faraj at least equal to the other great Persian poets *viz.* S'adi, Anwari and Khāqāni who have all been disparaged by him. 'Urfi says :—

انصاف بده بوالفرج و انوری امروز
بهر چه غنیمت نشمارند عدم را
بسم الله ز اعجاز نفس جان‌شان دهباز
تا من قلم اندازم ، گهرند قلم را

Faiḍi appreciated and imitated the style of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūni, as he himself says :—

فیضی منم آن که در معانی
گامی به دو صد نهج گرفتم
تا کرد دلم عروج مستی
نه چرخ درج درج گرفتم

*Al-Mu'ajjam, p. 438.

ذوقی که توان گرفت از شعر
از شعر ابوالفرج گرفتم

Undoubtedly Abu'l-Faraj was one of the greatest "qaṣīda"-writers of the classical school. Although he was an Indian he was followed and imitated by many poets of Persia and all of them have praised him highly. The great "qaṣīda"-writers of the late twelfth century, Anwarī, Khāqānī and Dhahīr Faryabī are regarded by the general consent of of their countrymen amongst the greatest masters of verse whom Persia has produced. These great "qasīda"-writers of the later Seljūq period were much influenced by the "qaṣīdas" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. Anwarī, "the prophet" among them, unequivocally declares that he especially admired the verses of Abu'l-Faraj and imitated his style.

Fortunately for us Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān exists in many libraries and numerous selections from it are contained in the biographies and anthologies in which he is mentioned. The

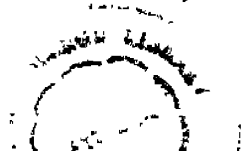
Dīwān is now available in a printed edition published at Ṭihrān.

According to the authors of the 'Urfāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn,* the Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā† the Nishtar 'Ishq‡ and the Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm§ his Dīwān is said to have contained over two thousand verses, but they all agree that this cannot be the total output of his entire literary efforts. I am certain that neither the *MSS* of his Dīwān nor its printed edition contain all his verses. The period of Abu'l-Faraj's literary activity extended over a fairly long time, but much of what he wrote during this period seems to have been lost, through the vicissitudes of time. Shams-i-Qays in his Al-Mu'ajjam quotes the following verses of Abu'l-Faraj, which are not to be met with in his Dīwān :

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 15b.

† Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I., p. 70.

‡ Nishtar 'Ishq, fol. 32a.

§ Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm, fol. 16b

(۱)

شد ممکن در جهان هر کو بساطش بوسه داد

وآن دهد بوسه بساطش کز در تمکین بود*

(۲)

از خواب گران فتنه سبک بر نکند سر

تا دیدهٔ حزم تو بود روشن و بیدار†

'Awfi quotes these other verses of Abu'l-Faraj which are not found in the printed edition of his Dīwān :—

(۱)

نعل اسپ تو هلالست وستامش کوکب است

افتابست او و اسپش اسمانها را مدار

آسمانی پر کواکب بر زمین هرگز که دید

کافتاب او یکی باشد هلال او چهار ‡

(۲)

مال دادن جز بحق اسراف دان

اینک از قرآن بخوان لاتسرفوا

از برای دین همه دنیا بده

لن تنالوا البر حتی تنفقوا§

* Al Mu'ajjam, p. 328.

† Al Mu'ajjam, p. 439.

‡Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II , p. 241.

§ Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II., p. 245.

All these verses cleary indicate that the present Dīwan of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī does not contain all his poetical output.

Abu'l-Faraj was a great poet and as I have said above one of the greatest "qaṣīda"-writers of the old school. All those who came after him imitated his style but none could equal him. He created a supple and graceful style of his own and soon became well-known for his polished art. Of his eminence as a poet the author of the Nishtar 'Ishq* rightly remarks :—

"در فن شعر از معاصران خویش گوئی فصاحت بردہ صاحب تلاش عالیست و رنگین طراز نازک خیالی در اقسام شاعری طبع رسا داشت"

In his own lifetime he gained such a great popularity that all classes of people whether high or low sought the pleasure of his company. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī† gives such a vivid descrip-

*Nishtar 'Ishq, fol. 31b.

†Haft Iqlīm, fol. 102a.

tion of his qualities that I feel tempted to re-produce it below :

"ابوالفرج رونی از اکمل شعراء است حق سبحانه و
تعالی وی را قبول عامه بخشیده بود که صغیر و کبیر
خواستار او بوده جملگی غاشیه صحبتش بر می داشتند و
لوای محبتش می افراشتند در شاعری نسبتی داشته که
همه کس شعر او را پسندیده و هیچکس انگشت قدح بران
نگذاشته"

His verses are full of sweetness and simplicity, and being unlaboured are free from artificiality. They never fall short in strength (matānat), poetic imagination and eloquence. The similes are not so subtle and ingenious, as those of Dhahīr Faryabī or Khāqānī, but are much more impressive.

The "qaṣīdas" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī deserve special study not only on account of their own merit, but also for the profound influence, which, as already indicated, they exercised over his contemporaries and successors. A comparison of his "qaṣīdas" with those of the subsequent writers will conclusively prove that

the obscure, artificial and pedantic style in "qaṣidas" was a matter of later invention. I quote here some of his verses* which besides giving a sample of his style, may interest many readers :—

بگردون نور اختر میفروشم
بدریا در و عنبر میفروشم
بفردوس برین سرو و صنوبر
بر طوبی بطوبر میفروشم
ببزم حور کانجا روح ساقی است
بتحفه شاخ عبهر میفروشم
بخوزستان ز نادانی و شوخی
متاع قند و شکر میفروشم
چه می گویم خلاب یارگیدی است
که سوی آب کوثر میفروشم
غلط گفتم ز ذره کمتر است این
که زی خورشید انور میفروشم
سوی یاقوت و لعل از ریش گاوی
فروغ مُهرهٔ خر میفروشم
فراهم کردهٔ را مفلسانه
بر طبع توانگر میفروشم

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, p. 84.

هنرمندا به تحفه پیش خدمت
سخنهای معتبر میفرستم
هزاران کاروان شوق هر دم
بپایی همچو شکر میفرستم
اگر بادی برد در صحبت او
دو صد آه معنبر میفرستم
سخن نزدت فرستادم بهر حال
قران هم زی پیمبر میفرستم
بچونین حضرتی چونین سخنها
اگرچه نیست درخور میفرستم
چو نظمی نیستم شایستهٔ تو
سخن زین روی ابتر میفرستم

The language which Abu'l-Faraj uses is of an almost studied simplicity, and it is this simplicity which gives such an astonishing force and strength to his " qaṣīdas ". His many melodious poems are remarkable for grace and fluency of language, and for a felicity of diction possessed by none of the earlier poets.

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān and Saīyid Muḥammad Nāṣir have each a

"qaṣīda" with the refrain "ātash u āb" (fire and water) and the letter "rā" with a preceding fatha ("-ar") as the rhyme. The "qaṣīda"* of Abu'l-Faraj is in praise of Abū-Naṣr-i-Pārsī and begins:

قبول یافت ز هر هفت اختر آتش و آب
وجیه گشت بهر هفت کشور آتش و آب

The "qaṣīdas"† of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād and Saiyid Muḥammad Nāṣir are both in praise of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm. The text of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's "qaṣīda" is to be found in his Dīwān, while the "qaṣīda" of Saiyid Muḥammad Nāṣir‡ can be read in 'Awfī's Lubāb-u'l-Albāb. Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī seems to have preceded these poets in making use of this rhyme and refrain which was afterwards imitated by others. Abu'l-Faraj's "qaṣīda" is a fairly striking specimen of classical "qaṣīda" and shows his skill in the successful manipulation of difficult rhymes and awkward refrains. The similes are original and

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, pp. 17-19.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, pp. 12-13.
‡ Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II, pp. 267-69.

striking and throughout the "qaṣīda" he maintains an easy and natural flow of words and ideas.

I quote one of Abu'l-Faraj's well-known "qaṣīdas"* in which he extols the virtues and valour of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. This is a fine example of classical "qaṣīda" and shows his mastery of language. The rythmic beauty of the poem is equally striking :—

[در مدح سلطان ابراهیم]

سپهر دولت و دین افتاب هفت اقلم
ابوالمظفر شاه مظفر ابراهیم
کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور
بطالع که تولا کند بدو تقویم
قضا ز هیبت او دیده حال شرع قوی
قدر بحشمت او کرده کار شرک سقیم
غبار لشکر او بسته راه باد بزان
شهاب صولت او خسته جان دیو رجیم
بروز عدلش مهزانهای ظلم سبک
بعون رائش پکیارهای دهر سلیم

* Abu'l-Faraj's Dīwān, pp. 86-87.

کنون بجوشد خون خزانهای کهن
کنون بجنبد مسمار ملک های قدیم
نه بحر گردد با عزم او بعبرهٔ عبهر
نه کوه باشد با حلم او بوعدهٔ لهثم
نشاط شاهان بملی نهاده روی بغم
امید رایان یابی نهاده پشت به بیم
سیه کند بکشاد خدنگ دیدهٔ روز
چنانکه نوک قلم در شتاب حلقهٔ میم
فرو خورد حشرات زمانه نیزهٔ او
چنانکه جادوی جادوان عصای کلیم
ز نعل خنگش روی زمین که ناورد
پشیزه یابد بر شبه پشت ماهی شیم
خیال تیغ وی اندر میان پشت پدر
عدوی دولت و دین را میان زند بدو نیم
نعوذ با الله از آن آب رنگ آتش فعل
که باد زخم دهد زو بخاک رنگ ادیم
به برق ماند و کس برق را ندیده سکون
به باد ماند و کس باد را ندیده جسیم
بگاه صلح سبکروح تر ز حلم شجاع
بروز حرب گرانمایه تر ز خشم حلیم
اسیر بودهٔ او بی نفس چو سنگ صدف
یتیم کردهٔ او بی عقب چو در یتیم

اگر شنیده برد عقل خصم او نه شگفت

بلی شنیده بود عقل در دماغ سلیم

وگر کبیره بپالاید از نفس چه عجب

بلی کبیره بپالاید از عذاب الیم

زهی به بازوی شمشیر کامگار ترا

نظیر نفس عزیز و شبیه فضل عدیم

دهد همی فلک از تو بطبع نشاط

برد همی ملک از خلق تو بخلد نسیم

توئی که مایه دهی ملک را به تیغ وبه رای

توئی که سیر کنی آز را به زر و سیم

زمین بمهر تو رادی کند به آب زلال

هوا ز خشم تو حامل شود به باد عقیم

همیشه تا بود از اختلاف در عالم

کثیف ضد لطیف و لئیم ضد کریم

بچنگ خیر تو موقوف باد هشت بهشت

بزیر امر تو مضبوط باد هفت اقلیم

Persian poets seldom excel in all forms of verse. This is not the case with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, for he wrote a good number of "rubā'īs" and they are as good as his "qaṣīdas". A large number of Persian poets have tried their wit at "rubā'ī"-writing, but the most prominent among

them are Abū Sa‘īd b. Abi’l-Khayr and ‘Umar Khayyām. Abū Sa‘īd b. Abi’l Khayr was the the first to popularise the “rubā‘ī” as a vehicle of religious, mystic and philosophical thought. He died in A. D. 1049. The other poet who immortalised himself by his quatrains was ‘Umar Khayyām. The date ordinarily given for his decease is A. D. 1123-24. A little before ‘Umar flourished Abu’l-Faraj-i-Rūmī, who died after A. D. 1092. Abu’l-Faraj’s style in “rubā‘īs” is extra-ordinarily flexible and his touch light and melodious. His “rubā‘īs” possess considerable force and fire and uncommon sweetness. It is just possible that Abu’l-Faraj’s verses may have influenced ‘Umar Khayyām in the composition of his “rubā‘īs.” These specimens selected at random, display most of the salient peculiarities of his thought and diction.

(١)

تا یک نفس از حیات باقی است مرا
در سر هوس شراب و ساقی است مرا
کاری که من اختیار کردم این بود
باقی همه کار اتفاقی است مرا

(۲)

از درد فراقت ای بلب شکر ناب
نی روز مرا قرار و نی در شب خواب
چشم و دل من ز هجرت ای دُر خوشاب
صحرای پر آتش است و دریای پر آب

(۳)

چون است که عشق اول از تن خیزد
زو بر دل و تن هزار شیون خیزد
آری بخورد زنگ همی آهن را
هرچند که زنگ هم از آهن خیزد

(۴)

سرمست بکوی دوست بگذشتم دوش
برداشته چون شیفتگان جوش و خروش
آمد خرد و مرا فرو گفت بگوش
کای عاشق تهمت زده بگذر خاموش

(۵)

تا باز ترا بدیده ام زار ترم
دیدار ترا ز جان خریدار ترم
تو خفتهٔ چو ظالمان خوش و من همه شب
از دیدهٔ مظلومان بیدار ترم

(۶)

ای دل مخور اندیشهٔ فردا پیشی
نزدیک مشو بغم ز دور اندیشی

با عقل مکهر تا توانی خویشی
کز لهو ترا عقل دهد درویشی

(۷)

شبهای دراز تو به آرام و نماز
خوش خفتهٔ و خواب با تو گشته دمساز
مسکین من بیدل چه بشبهای دراز
چون چشم فلک نیامدم چشم فراز

(۸)

در ظلمت شبهای فراق ای دلبر
بهلی که چگونه میبرم عمر بسر
ضائع نشود ریختن خون جگر
کاخر بدمد صبح امید چاکر

(۹)

از هر که دهد پند شنودن باید
با هر که بود رفق نمودن باید
به کاشتن و نیک فزودن باید
زیرا که پس از کشت درودن باید

From the "rubā'is" quoted above, it is apparent that 'Umar was not the first to express these reflections in his immortal verses. They were embodied in the beautiful "rubā'is" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī before him.

CHAPTER IV.

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān of Lahore.

Leaving Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, we must now pass on to his pupil—Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, of whom something has been said in the last chapter. This poet, so little known to us, was one of the greatest poets of his day and was highly esteemed by his contemporaries. He is mentioned in the Chahār Maqālah,* the Lubāb-u'l-Albāb,† the Tadkirat-u'sh-Shū'arā,‡ the Haft Iqlīm,§ the Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā,|| the Ātashkadah,¶ the Majm'a-u'l-Fūṣaḥā,/ the 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn,$

---

* Chahār Maqālah, pp. 45-46.

† Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II., pp. 246-252.

‡ Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'arā, pp. 47-49.

§ Haft Iqlīm, fols. 277b-280a.

|| Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā, fols. 372b-373b.

¶ Ātashkadah, pp. 147-152.

/ Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I., pp. 514-541.

$ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fols. 663b-667a.

the Khizāna-i-'Āmirah,* the Gul-i-R'anā† and many other "tadkiras." There also exists a monograph on this poet by Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān of Qazwīn, an English translation of which by Browne was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.‡ It has also been published separately as a pamphlet of 90 pages.

The Chahār Maqālah inserts a few lines as to the cause of his imprisonment. The Lubāb-u'l-Albāb gives a scanty notice of this poet. The other "tadkira"-writers have given the most conflicting statements as to his birth-place and other circumstances connected with his life. Many facts concerning his life can, however, be gathered from his own Dīwān. We must therefore accept only those statements of the "tadkira"-writers which can be ascertained from the poet's own verses.

* Khizāna-i-'Āmirah, pp. 14-21.

† Gul-i-R'anā, fols. 214b-215b.

‡ J. R. A. S., 1905 (pp. 693-740), 1906 (pp. 11-51).

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān belonged to a talented and eminent family, and vaunting his superiority over his ancestors he says :—*

گرچه اسلاف من بزرگانند
هر یک اندر هنر همه استاد
نسبت از خویشتن کنم چو گهر
نه چو خاکسترم کز آتش زاد

Besides being a great poet, Mas'ūd was an eminent nobleman and knight of his day. His liberality towards his fellow-poets was very well-known. In reward for a single quatrain or fragment he used to give caravan-loads of wealth.† 'Awfī, apologizing for placing him in the chapter of his work which treats of the poets of Ghazna and Lāhore, instead of amongst the nobles says : " He ought properly to have been placed in the chapter treating of public men who wrote verse, but since his verses exceed those of any other poet, therefore he has been placed amongst the poets of this class."‡ He

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 55.
†Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II , p. 246.
‡Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II., p. 246.

on account of his wealth is remembered by the title of Amir by most of the "tadkira"-writers. He also took part in the political activities of his day and had the misfortune to undergo imprisonments on this account.

The poet's name was Mas'ūd, and he was the son of S'ād and a grandson of Salmān. According to 'Awfī, he bore the title of S'ād-u'd-Dawlah,* Mas'ūd's family was originally of Hamadān, as he explicitly declares :—†

گر دل بطمع بستم شعر استبضاعت
ور احمقی کردم اصل از همدانست

One of the poet's ancestors must have emigrated from Hamadān and entered into the service of the Ghaznawides. Mas'ūd's ancestors seem to have served the Ghaznawides for many generations, for he himself says ·—‡

چرا ز دولت عالی، تو به پیچم روی
که بنده زادهٔ این دولتم بهفت تبار

* Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol., II., p. 246.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 30.
‡ Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 85.

Mas'ūd's father S'ād was in the service of the kings of Ghazna for at least fifty years, as an administrator and as a nobleman. Referring to his father's services to the House of Ghazna, Mas'ūd says :—*

شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد
پدر بنده سعد بن سلمان
گه باطراف بودی از عمال
گه بدرگاه بودی از عیان

It, however, seems to me curious why Mas'ūd in the following verses curtails the period of his father's service to fifty years.†

نه سعد سلمان پنجاه سال خدمت کرد
بدست کرد برنج این همه ضیاع و عقار

It is immaterial for my purpose to discuss for how many years the poet's father actually served the House of Ghazna, but it shows how cautiously we should accept even the *ipsissima verba* of the poet.

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 150.

† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 85.

The "tadkira"-writers differ very much as to his birth-place. The Chahār Maqālah* does not mention it. The Lubāb-u'l-Albāb† states that he was a native of Hamadān. 'Awfī further remarks that "in historical works he is considered a poet of Ghazna." Dawlat Shāh‡ in his Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'āra says that he belonged to Jurjān. Dawalat Shāh who is so expert in fabricating fictitious accounts gives details practically of his own making and states that Mas'ūd flourished under Minūchihr b. Qābūs. The whole account as given by him seems to me most unauthentic and ought to be disregarded. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī,§ in his Haft Iqlīm, relying on 'Awfī's statement and the following verse :—

گر دل بطمع بستم شعراست بضاعت
ور احمقی کردم اصل از همدانست

---

*Chahār Maqālah, p. 46.

† Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II., p. 246.

‡ Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'ara, p. 47.

§ Haft Iqlīm, fol. 277b.

supports 'Awfī that Mas'ūd was born in Hamadān. Perhaps the above quoted verse also formed 'Awfī's source of error. Mas'ūd says that his "اصل" origin was of Hamadān. It seems that the poet means merely that his family was of Hamadān, and both 'Awfī and Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī have been misled by this statement. 'Alī Qulī Khān in his Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shua'rā* says that Mas'ūd's place of origin was Hamadān, but he lived in Lāhore for a very long time. The author of the Ātashkadah† states that according to one version Mas'ūd belonged to Hamadān, while according to another he belonged to Jurjān. Evidently, the author of the Ātashkadah had before him the works of 'Awfī and Dawlat Shāh. Riḍā Qulī Khān,‡ inspite of his attainments as a historian, states that Mas'ūd's family was from Hamadān, but he grew up in Jurjān. By making this

* Riyāḍ-u'sh'arā, fol. 372b.

†Ātashkadah, p. 147.

‡Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥa, vol. I., p. 515.

statement Riḍā Qulī Khān only tries to bridge the gulf between 'Awfī's and Dawlat Shāh's accounts. Thus we see that all these writers repeat the statements of 'Awfī or Dawlat Shāh, both of whom have erred in this particular point. The eminent Indian scholar Ghulām 'Alī Khān was the first to describe the poet as coming from Lāhore in his Ṣabḥat-u'l-Marjān fī Āthāri Hindūstān*. He made the same statement in his Khizana-i-'Āmirah†. Mirzā Muḥammad Khan could not verify this assertion as the *British Museum MS.* of the Khizana-i-'Āmirah is defective. This statement is to be found in the Cawnpore lithographed edition of this work, and I also find it in the *Bankipore MS.* Badī-u'z-Zamān of Khurāsān, one of Persia's most critical writers and an eminent poet of the present day, opines that Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān belonged to Lāhore, for, in many of his verses he speaks of Lāhore with the greatest love and

*Sabḥat-u'l-Marjan, p. 26.
†Khīzana-i-'Āmirah, p. 15.

affection. His remark which is so important in this connection I give below in original :—*

"منشاء و مولد مسعود همان شهر لاهور و اظهار میل و
اشتیاق مسعود بدان ولایت بهترین دلیل است"

We find that most of the "tadkira"-writers assert that the poet's birth-place was Hamadān or Jurjān. The reason for ascribing a Persian origin to the poet is plain enough. The racial prejudice of these Persian writers does not allow them to acknowledge that a poet whose artistic achievement in the Persian tongue was so great, was, an Indian. They have done the same, with many an eminent Persian poet of India, and, where for obvious reasons, it has been very difficult to ascribe a Persian origin to them, they feel satisfied by passing a disparaging remark about their literary skill and poetic genius.

Having examined the statements of the "tadkira"-writers let us turn our attention to the

* Sukhan-wa-Sukhanwarān, p. 212.

poet's own Dīwān to find out what he himself says about his place of birth, for the poet's own words outweigh in authority the statements of any biographer.

Mas'ūd's father S'ād, as we have already seen, was for at least fifty years in the service of the kings of Ghazna, and had acquired possession of many farms and estates in Lāhore and other parts of India. Mas'ūd was born in Lāhore and as stated by Lachhmī Narāyan* received his education from the divines of Lāhore. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān† feels practically certain that Mas'ūd's father S'ād was also born in India, for it is unlikely that one who had served the king's of Ghazna for sixty years and administered their provinces, should have been a foreigner and a fugitive from a distant country. It is proved beyond all doubt that our poet was born in Lāhore, and his own verses prove it.

* Gul-ī-R'anā, fol. 214b.

† Monograph, p. 19.

In the following verse,* Mas'ūd calls Lāhore his own town :—

چو یاد شهر لهاور و یار خویش کنم
نبود کس که شد از شهر و یار خویش نفور

In one of his "qaṣīdas"† in praise of Sulṭān 'Alā'-u'd-Dawlah Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, he refers to Lāhore as his birth-place :—

سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا
بوبهٔ دختر و هوائی پسر
چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن
بر ضیاع و عقار بهر پدر
بندهٔ بو نصر بر گماشت مرا
بعمل همچو نائبان دگر

Mas'ūd had a special love for his native town and wrote a "qaṣīda" addressed entirely to Lāhore. He bewails his separation from Lāhore and describes himself as its 'dear son.' Some of the verses of his "qaṣīda"‡ run thus :—

---

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p 97.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 84.
‡ Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, pp. 203-4.

ای لاوهور ویحک بی من چگونهٔ
بی افتاب روشن روشن چگونهٔ
ناگه عزیز فرزند از تو جدا شد است
با درد او بنوحه و شهون چگونهٔ
از دوستان ناصح مشق جدا شدی
با دشمنان ناکس ریمن چگونهٔ

In the following quatrain* composed in prison, he speaks of his longing for Lāhore :—

دانی تو که با بند گرانم یارب
دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یارب
شد در غم لوهور روانم یارب
یارب که در آرزوی آنم یا رب

The following verses† are characteristic of his devotion to his native town :—

مضملی باید از خداوندم
که ازو بوی لوهور آید
که همی ز آرزوی لوهاور
جان و دل در تنم همی ناید

In another "qaṣīda,"‡ he expresses his longing for his country :—

---

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 296.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 258.
‡ Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 23.

از زمانه نکرده ام گلهٔ
تا بدانسته ام که مجبور است
مر مرا گاه رنج کند
همه ام بوبهٔ لهاوور است
داند ایزد که سخت نزدیک است
دل بگو گر تنم ز تو دوراست

After reading all these verses, we may naturally ask, why Mas'ūd in his poems so much pines and longs for Lāhore. The answer is quite obvious. Lāhore was his native city, and all his near and dear ones were to be found there. Evidently, there was no one in Hamadān or Jurjān, for whom the poet could pine in the prison. In Lāhore he had a big family, for he himself says* :—

دختر خورد دارم و پسری
با دو خواهر ببوم هندوستان
سی چهل تن ز خویش و از پیوند
بسته در راحت تو جان و روان

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 150.

The poet's mother was also in Lāhore. H says :—*

ولیک زالی دارم که در کنار مرا
چو جان شیرین پرورده و مرد کرد کلان
نه بست هرگز او را خیال نندیشید
که من بقلعهٔ سو مانم او بهندوستان

Pining for his wife on an 'Īd day Mas'ūd say that she also lived in Lāhore.†

مرا که گوید کای دوست عید فرخ باد
نگار من بلهاور و من به نهشاپور

All these verses conclusively prove that th whole family of the poet was permanently resid ing in Lāhore, and that they had long ag broken off their connection with Hamadān There cannot be found any verse in Mas'ūd' Dīwān to prove that he had any relatives i Hamadān. In the light of the explicit state ments contained in the verses already cited, th verse‡

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 16?
† Mas-ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 97
‡ Mas'ūd-i-Ṣ'ād's Dīwān, p. 2?.

بهیچ نوع گناهی دگر نمی دانم
مرا جز اینکه ازین شهر مولد و منشاست

undoubtedly refers to Lāhore. The "qaṣīda," in which this verse occurs is in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, and like all the other "qaṣīdas" in his praise, must have been composed during the period of his viceroyalty in India. The poets of the day who were envious of Mas'ūd's ability tried to belittle his compositions. They could not tolerate that a young poet, especially one who was of Indian origin, should produce such beautiful poems. In the entire "qaṣīda," in which the above verse occurs, Mas'ūd complains of this attitude and draws the attention of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd to it. From what I have stated it is quite clear that Mas'ūd belonged to Lāhore, and it is erroneous to believe that he belonged either to Hamadān or Jurjān.

Having determined the place of his origin let us ascertain the period of Mas'ūd's life. Mas'ūd's Dīwān contains poems in praise of

five Ghaznawide Sulṭāns, *viz.* Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ;(2 Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm ; (3) Shīrzād ; (4) Arslān Shāh (5) Bahrām Shāh. These Sulṭāns reigned in succession from A. H. 450 to A. H. 552, which covers a period of 102 years. It is impossible that Mas'ūd can have flourished from the beginning of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm down to the end of Bahrām Shāh's reign. The biographers do not state when Mas'ūd was born and a great deal of controversy has arisen as to the date of his death. 'Alī Qulī Khān Daghistānī in his Riyāḍ-u'sh Shu'arā,* Ghulām 'Alī Khān in his Subḥat-u'l-Marjān† and Khizāna-i-'Āmirah,‡ and Riḍā Qulī Khān § in his Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā assert on the authority of the Chahār Maqālah (though no such statement is to be found in any existing copy of this work) that Mas'ūd was alive until A. H. 515. Relying on this state

* Riyāḍ-u'sh Sh'uarā, fol. 372b.

† Sabḥat-u'l-Marjān-fī-Āthāri-Hindūstān, p. 27.

‡ Khizāna-i-'Āmirah, p. 15.

§Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā. vol. I., p. 515.

nent Mirzā Muḥammad Khān* has gone a step urther and says, " in my opinion it appears, on he whole, most likely that he died in A. H. 515." This date of his death as given by Mirzā Muḥammad Khān, *viz.* A. H. 515, does not seem o be probable for two reasons. Firstly, 'Alī Qulī Khān and others only say that he was alive ill A. H. 515. Secondly, there is no direct evidence to prove that he died in A. H. 515. On the contrary his verses prove that he was alive long after A. H. 515. The more probable late of his death, to which Sprenger† adheres, on the authority of Taqī Kāshī is A. H. 525. Bahrām came to the throne in A. H. 512 and ometime must have elapsed before the poet ame to the court, for I do not find in Mas'ūd's Dīwān any poem welcoming the new king to he throne. The absence of such a poem proves he poet's absence from the court when Bahrām scended the throne. There is however, a

* Monograph, p. 26.

† Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, vol XXII, p. 244

"tarj'ī"* in praise of the king. Its component verses prove that it must have been composed on the occasion of the spring festival, sometime after the accession of Bahrām to the throne, when the turmoil arising out of the reign of Arslān Shāh had subsided for the poet praises the Sulṭān in these terms :†

سر در کشید فتنه و روی جهان ندید

تا شد زدوده خنجر تو پاسبان ملک

Mas'ud in a "qaṣīda" addressed to Bahrām Shāh refers to his miserable condition, *a year or two ago* and contrasts it with the comforts which he *now* enjoys. He says: ‡

پیرار و پار بنده ز جان نا امید بود

وامسال حال بنده چو پیرار و پار نیست

The words "پیرار و پار" should not be construed too literally, for they have been here used only for the purpose of alliteration and rhyme. In the absence of a poem welcoming Bahrām to

* Mas'ūd i-S'ād's Dīwān, pp. 239-40.

†Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 240.

‡Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 39.

the throne, in Mas'ūd's Dīwān, combined with the fact that the poet enjoyed no great favour during the reign of Arslān Shāh it appears to me very doubtful that Mas'ūd all at once became one of the most favoured intimates of Bahrām Shāh's court as soon as he ascended the throne. It must have taken sometime for him to have attained to the high position to which the poet alludes in the following verse :—*

کس را چنانکه امروز این بندهٔ تراست
جاه و محل و مرتبت و کار و بار نیست

The statement of Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān† that this "qaṣīda" was composed in the first year of the reign of Bahrām Shāh, seems to me not well considered. In my opinion this "qaṣīda" must have been composed long after A. H. 515. Evidently, this poem was composed after the king had crushed all his enemies, for the poet thanks God for the supremacy which Bahrām Shāh now enjoyed :

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 40.
†Monograph, p 65.

منت خدایرا که زمانه بکام ماست
و امروز روز دولت ما را غبار نیست

Most probably this poem was composed after the king had finished his second Indian campaign of subding Muḥammad Bhylīm, for the poet says that Bahrām is the undisputed king of the day :—

آن شهریار شهرکشای ملوک بلد
کامروز مثل او بجهان شهریار نیست

The historical works do not mention in which year Muḥammad Bhylīm was defeated for the second time. He was first defeated in A. H. 512,* and the subsequent events which followed prove that at least many long years must have elapsed between the first and second campaigns of Bahrām in India. To me it seems certain that Mas'ūd-i-S'ād had become the court poet of Bahrām Shāh not earlier than A. H. 515, and from his "qaṣīdas" in praise of Bahrām Shāh it can be deduced that he was alive in A.H. 515.

* Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 50.

Most of Mas'ūd's "qaṣidas" in praise of Bahrām Shāh depict him as a sovereign whose dominion was free from all troubles and who had no cause of dread from his enemies. This position the king enjoyed considerably long after A. H. 515. Biographers* state that towards the end of his life Mas'ūd, like so many other panegyrists, renounced the life of Court, became a hermit and in this state he lived for sometime. If we accept that Mas'ūd became the court-poet of Bahrām Shāh in A. H. 512, and also adopt A. H. 515 as the date of the poet's death, it seems quite impossible that Mas'ūd-i-S'ād could have gone through so much and written such a great deal in the very short period of about two years and a half. All these facts lend support to my view that Mas'ūd was alive in A. H. 515 and as Sprenger says died in A. H. 525.

We have found out the date of Mas'ūd's death, let us now endeavour to determine the

*Taḏkirat-u'sh-Shu'arā, p. 47.

year of his birth, as deduced from his own verses. There is in the poet's Dīwān a "qaṣida" in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd in which occur the following verses :—*

اگر بر ایشان سحر حلال بر خوانم
جز این نگویند آخر که کودک و برناست
نه کودکی و ز پیری چه فخر و عار آید
چنین نگوید آنکس که عاقل و داناست
هزار پیر شناسم که مشرک و گبر است
هزار کودک دانم که ازهدالزهداست

These verses make it clear that at the time when he celebrated the praises of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd was of a very young age, in as much as he was styled a "کودک" and a "برنا". In other words the poet was considerably less than twenty-five, during the period of Saif-u'd-Dawlah's viceroyalty in India *viz.* A. H. 467—A. H. 480. The verses indicate that the above mentioned "qaṣida" was composed during the earlier period of the poet's connexion with Saif-u'd-Dawlah's court. If we

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 29.

suppose that this "qaṣīda" was composed in A. H. 467 and the poet was then 21 years of age, then the birth of Masʻūd-i-Sʻād would fall in A. H. 446. Masʻūd-i-Sʻād in one of his "qaṣīdas" adressed to Sulṭān Masʻūd says:—*

شصت و دو سالگی ز تن ببرد زور
زان پس که بود در همه میدان مرا مجال

From this verse it is apparent that Masʻūd-i-Sʻād was 62 years of age sometime during the reign of Masʻūd b. Ibrāhīm *viz.* between A. H. 492 and A. H. 508. If we suppose that Masʻūd-i-Sʻād-i-Salmān composed this "qaṣīda" in A. H. 508, the last year of Masʻūd's reign, then his birth would fall in A. H. 446, and his age at the time when he celebrated the praises of Saif-u'd-Dawlah in A. H. 467, would have been 21 years. In my opinion it appears, on the whole, most likely that he was born in about A. H. 446. And since his death took place in the year A. H. 525, his age when he died must have been about 79 years, a year less than what the

* Masʻūd-i-Sʻād's Dīwān, p. 177.

astrologers had foretold during his lifetime. He himself says :—*

مرا منجم هشتاد سال عمر نهاد
ز عمر دوستی امید من بر آن افزود

Mas'ūd passed a happy life from his birth down to A. H. 480, when he was sent to prison. He passed most of his time in his native city of Lāhore. It is not known how he attached himself to the court of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, the viceroy of India. The prince must have been attracted by the great qualities of the poet which he shewed at an early age. It seems certain that due to his ability in poetry and warfare he became one of the favourite courtiers of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd.

Let us try to find out in which year Mas'ūd-i-S'ād first came to the court of Saif-u'd Dawlah Maḥmūd. In his Dīwān there is to be found a "qaṣīda"† in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, beginning :—

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 256.

† Mas'ūd-S'ād's Dīwān, p 20.

مگر مشاطه سختي شدند باد و سحاب
که این به سبزه بپرایه وآن گشاد نقاب

In this "qaṣīda" the poet some lines further on says :—

خجسته بادت نوروز و ایلچیندن نو روز
هزار جفت شده با مه رجب دریاب

Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān* asserts that the New Year's Day (March 21, the Vernal Equinox) only fell in the month of Rajab in the three years *viz.* A. H. 465, 466 and 467; consequently our poet must have composed this "qaṣīda" in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmud in one of these three years. From all this it follows that Mas‘ūd-i-S‘ād-i-Salmān's first appearance must have been in or about the year A. H. 465. He continued to flourish at the court till the year A. H. 480. When Saif-u'd-Dawlah was made the viceroy of all India Mas‘ūd-i-S‘ād composed a congratulatory "qaṣīda"† beginning :—

* Monograph, p. 25.
† Mas‘ūd-i-S‘ād's Dīwān, p. 125.

چو روی چرخ شد از صبح چون صحیفهٔ سیم
ز قصر شاه مرا مژده داد باد نسیم

In this splendid "qaṣīda"* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād explicitly states that this auspicious event took place in A. H. 469 :

بسال پنجه ازین پیش گفت بو ریحان
در آن کتاب که کرد است نام او تفهیم
که پادشاهی صاحبقران شود بجهان
چو سال هجرت بگذشت تا وسین وسه جیم

For eleven years more Mas'ūd-i-S'ād remained prosperous and happy in the service of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmud. At last ill-luck overtook him and in A. H. 480, and under the orders of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm he was sent to prison.

The days which Mas'ūd passed at the court of Saif-u'd-Dawlah may be regarded the happiest period of his life. During this period Mas'ūd wrote many "qaṣīdas" in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah. These "qaṣīdas" are of much historical value, for they give details of many conquests and countless feats of prowess wrought by Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd. In

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 125.

historical works no mention is made of the life and work of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd. However, Mas'ūd's "qasīdas" fortunately throw much light on many particulars connected with his life. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād in a "qasīda"* in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah gives a vivid description of the fall of the fort of Agra. This "qasīda" begins with the following verse :—

ایا نسیم سحر فتحنامها بردار
بهر ولایت آز آن فتحنامه بسیار

It is full of historical value, for the poet was an eye witness to the fall of the fort. The poet describes how the "fort of Agra was built right on the sands like a hill, and the battlements of it were like hillocks. No calamity had ever befallen its fortifications, and Ṣaif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd was in search of such a large virgin fortress as this which no king or chief had yet taken. The Amīr of Agra, Jaipal, proclaimed his allegiance to Saif-u'd-Ḍawlah Maḥmūd, but he remained bent upon holy wars, did not

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p 87.

accept any of his terms and attacked the fortress. The troops of Saif-ū'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd made an assault together, and dragon-like swords defended the ramparts." The poet saw Saif-u'd Dawlah Maḥmūd "plunging into the middle of the fight like a male lion, with a man-devouring scimetar in hand." At last, from the warriors within the fort arose the shout of "Victory to our Sovereign Lord Maḥmūd." Thus we see that the "qaṣīdas" of Mas'ūd-i S'ād have immortalised the name of Saif-ū'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, otherwise he would have been entirely forgotten.

As I have said above Mas'ūd passed a happy life until A. H. 480 in the service of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd. His good fortune now changed into adversity. He came from India to Ghaznī to demand justice against certain persons, but was cast into prison through the stratagem of an enemy as he says*:

---

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 48.

دانند که نکرده ام گناهی
آنکس که خلاص خواهدم داد
درویشی و نیستی ز لوهور
برکند و بحضرتم فرستاد
نان پارهٔ خویشتن بجستم
از شاه ظهیر دولت و داد
این رنگ بجز عدو نیامیخت
این بهتان جز حسود ننهاد
از بهر خدائی دست من گیر
کز پای تن من اندر افتاد

What was this "stratagem" and what was this "calumny" to which the poet here refers. From many of his "qaṣīdas" it appears that the accusation made against him by his enemies was that he was dreaming of going to Khurāsān, as he himself says :—*

ورنه دشمن همی کجا گوید
که در اندیشهٔ خراسانست

In another poem, written during his second imprisonment Mas'ūd says :—†

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Diwān, p. 28.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 136.

گه خستۀ آفت لهاوورم
گه بستۀ تهمت خراسانم

In one of his "rubā'is* he says :—

در بند تو ای شاه ملکشه باید
تا بند تو پای تاجداری ساید
آنکس که ز پشت سعد سلمان آید
گر مار شود ملک ترا نگزاید

Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī giving the cause of Mas'ūd's first imprisonment explains what the poet meant by "اندیشۀ خراسان"; and what was the magnitude of the poet's fault, which Mas'ūd always described as a mere accusation devoid of all truth. Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī§ says that: -

در شهور سنۀ اثنین و سبعین و اربعمایة [خمسمایة ?] صاحب غرضی قصۀ بسلطان ابراهیم برداشت که پسر او سیف الدوله امیر محمود نیت آن دارد که بجانب عراق برود بخدمت ملکشاه سلطان را غیرت کرد و چنان ساخت که او را ناگاه بگرفت و ببست و بحصار فرستاد وندیمان او را بند کردند و بحصارها فرستاد از جمله یکی مسعود سعد سلمان بود و او را بوجیرستان بقلۀ نائی فرستادند

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 300.

† Chahār Maqālah, pp. 44-45.

'rom the prison Mas'ūd-i-S'ād challenged the orrectness of the charge against him that he ʼas in league with the king's enemies, but we ıay conjecture from the vehement insistence of ıulṭān Ibrāhīm in keeping Mas'ūd in prison ıspite of the intercession of his ministers and obles, that the charge against the poet was rue to some extent.

Now as to the date of Mas'ūd's first imprisonıent, Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī says that this happened ı the year A. H. 572, during the reign of ıulṭān Ibrāhīm and that Mas'ūd remained in rison for 12 years and that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm eparted from this world, leaving Mas'ūd in rison. I quote below the relevant passage rom the Chahār Maqālah*:

" از دنهات برفت و آن آزاد مرد را در زندان بگذاشت
و مدت حبس او بسبب قربت سیف‌الدوله دوازده سال
بود "

'he date A. H. 572 has obviously been ʼrongly transcribed in the Chahār Maqālah,

* Chahār Maqālah, p. 45.

7

and I entirely agree with the remark of Mirza Muḥammad* that the date A. H. 480 is what should stand in the text of Nidhāmi-i-'Arūḍi. We have no reason to disagree with the other statements of Nidhāmi-i-'Arūdi, who was contemporary with Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān. Nidhāmi-i-'Arūḍi, who may have committed errors in dealing with some other contemporary events has not committed any mistake in stating that Mas'ūd during his first imprisonment remained in captivity for 12 years, and was not released until after the death of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.

If Mas'ūd went to prison in A. H. 480, as stated by Nidhāmi-i-'Arūḍi and remained there for 12 years, then he must have been released in A. H. 492. In other words, he was released by Sulṭān Mas'ūd after the death of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Apart from the testimony of the author of the Chahār Maqālah I feel certain that Mas'ūd was not released from prison during the lifetime of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, for I do not find

* Monograph, p. 42.

in Mas‘ūd's Dīwān any "qaṣīda" in praise of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, giving thanks to the king for delivering him from prison. I fail to understand why Mas‘ūd-i-S‘ād, who addressed "qaṣīdas" to sundry people on most unimportant occasions, should have omitted to compose a "qaṣīda" in praise of Sultān Ibrāhīm, thanking the Sulṭān for the pardon granted to him. He would have composed such a poem out of gratitude to the king, and also to gain his gracious and kindly solicitude. The fact is that he was not released during the lifetime of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and when he was granted pardon during the reign of Sulṭān Mas‘ūd he composed a thanksgiving "qaṣīda" in his honour, wherein he has also given some particulars of his first imprisonment. This long "qaṣīda"* begins with the following verse :—

پادشاه بزرگ دین پرور
شهریار کریم حق گستر

* Mas‘ūd-i-S‘ād's Dīwān, p. 82.

In this "qasida" the presence of some verses leads Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān to conjecture that Mas'ūd was released from his first imprisonment during the lifetime of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. These verses run as follows :—

عفو سلطان نامدار رضی
بر شب من فگند نور قمر
التفات عنایتش برداشت
بار رنج از تن من مضطر

By "سلطان رضی" Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān means Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Though Sulṭān Ibrāhīm might have been wrongly remembered with the title of Sulṭān Raḍī in some of the lesser known works on history, here 'رضی' has been used only as an adjective and does not refer to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. The numerous coins of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm do not bear any such title.

Let us now see for how many years Mas'ūd remained incarcerated during his first imprisonment. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān says "the tenth year ... ... was the last of his first imprison-

ment."* Let us see what Mas'ūd himself says about the period of his first imprisonment. In a "qaṣīda"† in praise of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, he remarks that he has wasted his soul in prison for nearly ten years:

بزرگوار خدایا چو قرب دہ سالست
که می بکاهد جان من از غم و تیمار

In another "qaṣīda"‡ in praise of Muḥammad Khāṣṣ, Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān says that he had been in prison for more than ten years:—

فزونست دہ سال تا من کنون
نه با دوستانم نه با دودمان
مرا جای کوہ است و اندوہ کوہ
تنم درمیان دو کوہ کلان

It is clear from these verses that Mas'ūd was in prison even after the tenth year, and might have been released from prison after the twelfth year, as stated by Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī. The *British Museum MS.* of Mas'ūd's Dīwān on

* Monograph, pp. 36-37.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 85.
‡ Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 163.

which Mirzā Muḥammad Khān relies, reads *nine years* which is obviously an error.

Nidhāmi-i-'Arūḍi makes a mention of only one prison *viz.* the castle of Nāy, and omits to mention the names of two other castles *viz.* Sū and Dahak where Mas'ūd passed his time before going to the castle of Nāy. Mas'ūd himself says :—*

هفت سالم بکوفت سو و دهک
پس از آنم سه سال قلعه نائی

It is not known who was instrumental in delivering Mas'ūd-i-S'ād from his first imprisonment. Mirzā Muḥammad† quotes a few verses from a "qaṣida" composed in praise of Abu'l Qāsim Khāṣṣ, and concludes from these verses that Abu'l Qāsim Khāṣṣ got him released from his "last imprisonment." Mas'ūd says :—‡

گر بتو نیستی قوی دل من
چکدی زهرهٔ من مسکین

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 222.

† Monograph, p. 38

‡ Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 191.

از تو بودی همه تعهد من
گاه محنت بمحنتهای حصن
جان تو دادی مرا پس از ایزد
اندرین حبس و بند باز پسین

The words " اندرین حبس " clearly indicate that Mas'ūd was still in prison, for how then could he say "in this imprisonment and last bondage." The truth is that in this "qaṣīda," Mas'ūd-i-S'ād thanks Abu'l-Qāsim Khāṣṣ for all the help rendered to him "in this imprisonment" and the "last bondage." By "this imprisonment" Mas'ūd means his imprisonment in the castle Nāy, and by the "last bondage" he means his days passed in the castles of Sū and Dahak. Mas'ūd solicits for further favours in the following verse :*

بنده خویش را معونت کن
ای جهان را شده بعدل معین

Thus we find that these verses were not composed after Mas'ūd's release from prison, but

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 191,

were written while he was still imprisoned in the castle of Nāy.

From the prison Mas'ūd addressed pathetic appeals to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and to all his nobles, ministers and courtiers, such as 'Alī K͟hāṣṣ, Muḥammad K͟hāṣṣ, 'Abdu'r-Rus͟hd Ras͟hīd K͟hāṣṣ, Bihrūz b. Aḥmad, Muḥammad b. Bihrūz, and 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'ṣ Ṣamad, the "wazīr". These appeals are pitiful descriptions of the poet's captivity mingled with praise of the Sulṭān and his nobles. But these descriptions of his sufferings in prison did not serve any useful purpose, and he was not pardoned and released by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.

In A. H. 492 when Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm came to the throne the poet was released from prison after twelve years. Mas'ūd came to India, the land of his birth to look after his farms and estates and gladdened his eyes with the sight of his son, daughter, his wife and all his dear relations.

Sulṭān Mas'ūd had now conferred the vice-royalty of India on his son Amir Shirzād. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān became one of the courtiers of the prince and through the help of Abū-Naṣr-i-Fārsī, Shirzād's deputy-governor and commander-in-chief, he became the Warden of Chālandar. Mas'ūd in the following verses* describes how he got this post, but he complains that he does not possess all the necessary paraphernalia required for this exalted office :

چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن
بر ضیاع و عقار بهر پدر
بندهٔ بو نصر بر گماشت مرا
بعمل همچو نائبان دگر
نایبی نیستم چنانکه مرا
سازی و آلتی بود در خور
مردکی چند هست بس لکره
اسپکی چند هست بس لاغر
گاه طبلی زنم بزیر گلیم
گاه تیغی کشم بزیر سپر

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 84.

گه جهم همچو رنگ بر کهسار
گه خزم همچو مار در کردر
اینهمه هست و شغلهای عمل
سخت با نظم و رونق است اندر
حشمت عالی علای تو
در جهان خود همی کشد لشکر

Mas'ūd perhaps did not like Chālandar, for alluding to his weariness and heaviness of heart, he says :—*

لاجرم چون چلەی گرانجانم
ناخوش و ناترنگ و نادانم
رفتم اینک بسوی چالندر
تاکی آیم بشهر بار دگر

Mas'ūd was not destined to remain in the employment of the state for long. Bewailing his own life in one of his poems he says :—†

یکچند کشید و داشت بخت بد
در محلت و در بلای الوانم
چون پیرهن عمل بپوشیدم
بگرفت قضای بد گریبانم

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwan, p. 245.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwan, p. 136.

It so happened that after some time, in consequence of malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj Naṣr b. Rustam, Abū-Naṣr-i-Fārsī fell under the displeasure of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, as Mas'ūd-i-S'ād says in a fragment* beginning :—

بوالفرج شرم نامدت که بجهد
بچنین حبس و بند افکندی

A few lines further on he reproaches Abu'l-Faraj for overthrowing Abū-Naṣr of Pārs.† He says :—

وینچنین قوتی تراست که تو
پارسی را کلی شکاوندی

After Abū-Naṣr-i-Pārsī had incurred the displeasure of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, all his adherents were punished either by dismissal, arrest, or imprisonment. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād who was one of them was also arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj for eight years, as Nidhāmi-i-'Arūḍī‡ says, "and the duration of the im-

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 255.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 255.
‡ Chahār Maqālah, p. 45.

prisonment which he suffered in the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd by reason of his relations with Abū-Naṣr-i-Fārsī was eight years." This statement is corroborated by Mas'ūd's own verses. In the fragment in which Mas'ūd reproaches Abu'l-Faraj for sending him to prison he says :—*

مر ترا هیچ باک نامد از آنکه
نوزده سال بوده ام بندی

This verse implies that Mas'ūd had already been in prison for nineteen years and at the time when he wrote this "qiṭ'a" he was still in prison. This verse also supports Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī's statement that Mas'ūd in his first imprisonment which started during Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's reign remained in prison for 12 years. If he had not been imprisoned for 12 years during Ibrāhīm's reign and about eight years during Mas'ūd's reign he could not have said that he had been in prison for "nineteen years."

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 255.

Mas'ūd has a " qaṣīda " in praise of Malik Arslān in which* he says:—

من بنده سال سیزده محبوس مانده ام
جان کنده ام ز محنت در حبس و در حصار

This does not tally with the statement of Nidhāmi-i-'Arūdi and is also contradicted by the verse containing " nineteen years." The word " thirteen " in the " qaṣīda " of Malik Arslān is a mistake and ought to be "nineteen." Thus the entire period of Mas'ūd's imprisonment was twenty years, *viz.* 12 years during his first imprisonment and 8 years in the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. 'Alī Qulī Khān† and Riḍā Qulī Khān‡ have misread the word " هشت " (eight) as " بیست " (twenty) in the Chahār Maqalah and wrongly state that in all, Mas'ūd remained in prison for thirty-two years.

Mas'ūd, as stated by Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍi§, was released from prison the second time during

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 95.
† Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā, fol. 372b.
‡ Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I, p. 515.
§ Chahār Maqālah, p. 45.

the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd through the intercession of Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Ṭāhir b. 'Alī. The following "ruba'ī :"*

چرخم چو بخواست کشت بی هیچ گمان
جاه تو بزندگانیم کرد ضمان
گویم همه شب ز شام تا صبحدمان
ای دولت طاهر علی باقی مان

confirms the statement of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī that Ṭāhir b. 'Alī was instrumental in getting Mas'ūd released from prison. The following "ruba'ī"† composed in praise of Ṭāhir b. 'Alī is full of genuine gratitude:

در خدمت طاهر علی یارم جان
کز خدمت طاهر علی دارم جان
هر صبحدمی روان نهم بر کف دست
در خدمت طاهر علی آرم جان

After his release from prison Mas'ūd-i-S'ād tried to gain the favour of Sulṭān Mas'ūd by writing "qaṣīdas" in his praise. In this attempt he was successful to some extent as he

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 308.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 307.

himself says in a "qaṣīda"* addressed to Sulṭān Mas'ūd:

هرگز بحرمت حرم ایشاه مر مرا
نامد بدل که گردم ازینگونه محترم
نه نه چو مدحت افسر حشمت بود هنر
کز مدح گویی تو شود از خلق محتشم

After the death of Sulāṭn Mas'ūd Shīrzād came to the throne, but he reigned only for a year. He was succeeded by Malik Arslān who reigned for two years. Although Mas'ūd has addressed "qaṣīdas" to Malik Arslān he seems to have enjoyed no great favour of the king. In the reign of Bahrām Shāh who succeeded Malik Arslān, Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, became a favourite courtier of the king. Bahrām Shāh was a great patron of poets and Mas'ūd in his old age enjoyed a little tranquility and happiness at the court of this royal and generous patron. Dawlat Shāh† says that at the close of his life Mas'ūd-i-S'ād abondoned the life of a court

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 131.

† Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'ara, p. 47.

poet, and indeed it is likely enough for Mas'ūd in a fragment after alluding to his former days says :*

جدا گشتم از درگه پادشاه
بدان درگهم هیچ ازین ره نبود
گرفتم کنون درگه ایزدی
کزین به مرا هیچ درگه نبود

There is to be found another fragment in Mas'ūd's Dīwān, which he seems to have composed at the close of his life, when he became a hermit. This fragment begins :—†

چون بدیدم بدیدهٔ تحقیق
که جهان منزل فناست کنون

In this fragment occur the following verses :—

آن زبانی که مدح شاهان گفت
مادح حضرت خداست کنون
لهجهٔ پر نوای خوش نغمت
بلبل باغ مصطفاست کنون

Writing on these two verses, Mirzā Muḥammad Khān who does not believe that Mas'ūd became

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 57.
†Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 271.

a hermit at the end of his life, says,* "It is implied in the two verses of the fragment in question that the writer, abandoning the praise of kings, had devoted his talents to the praise and glorification of God and to the celebration of the virtues of the Prophet and his family; whereas no such poems are to be found in the existing manuscripts of Mas'ūd's Dīwān. In all probability this fragment is really by Sanā'ī, whose poems it greatly resembles in style." This remark of Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān that the fragment is by Sanā'ī is unjustifiable. This fragment is exactly in the same style as the one beginning :—†

دریغا جوانی و آنروزگار
که از رنج پیری تن آگه نبود

All the poems which he writes on his ownself "حسب الحال" are in the same style, and to me it seems practically certain that the fragment in question was really composed by Mas'ūd. That

* Monograph, p. 69.

† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 57.

Mas'ūd became a Ṣūfī is also proved by the verses quoted above. In this poem Mas'ūd says that he parted from the king's Court, and "attached himself to the Court of God." The statement is symbolical. By "attaching himself to the Court of God" Mas'ūd simply means that he became a devotee of God, and not that he actually became a poet of God's Court. Similarly when he says that he became a "مادح" of God, the Prophet and his family, he only means that he spent his time in the glorification of God, the Prophet and his family. It does not imply that he must have composed "qaṣīdas" in praise of God, the Prophet and his family. It is just possible that he might have composed religious "qaṣīdas", which for some reason have not found their way into Mas'ūd's Dīwān. It has never been a new thing for the poets to abandon the Court at the close of their life. In old age many Court panegyrists have renounced the life of the Court and have retired into pious seclusion. Dhahīr of Faryāb, one of the greatest panegyrists, did the

same. The long imprisonments of Mas'ūd and the grievous hardships which he suffered at Fortune's hand, naturally prepared the way for such a change. Even during his first imprisonment he showed his religious trend of mind by getting the Holy Qurān by heart. He himself says :—*

نه تن من ز بند رنجوراست
نه دل من ز بد هراسانست
تکیه بر حسن عهد بوالفتح است
شادی از حفظ و نظم قرآنست

Thus we find that the statement of Dawlat Shāh that Mas'ūd became a hermit at the close of his life seems to be quite correct.

Having now completed the biography of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād let us turn our attention to his attainments as a poet. 'Awfī† states that he was one of the wonders of his time and had three Dīwāns, one Persian, one Arabic and one Hin-

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 28.

† Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II.,p. 246.

dustani. As for his Persian Dīwān it fortunately still exists, and is an unexplored treasure-house of Persian poetry, which would yield to the diligent seeker a rich store of gems. His Arabic and Hindustānī Dīwāns do not exist now. It can not be denied that his Arabic Dīwān once existed for he himself says that he wrote Persian and Arabic with equal facility :—*

زبان دولت عالی به بندهٔ داد پیام
که ای تو از دو زبان پارسی و تازی رام

In another "qaṣīda"† he boasts :—

سجود آرد به پیش خاطر من
روان رودکی و ابن هانی

Rashīd-u'd-Dīn Waṭwāṭ in the Ḥadā'-i-qu'ṣ-Sihr‡ quotes some of Mas'ūd's Arabic verses. Mas'ūd's Hindustānī Dīwān cannot be traced, but in view of the testimony of 'Awfī, who is a very early authority, we have no reason to doubt that such a Dīwān once did exist. Khusraw§ though

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 134.

† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 213.

‡ Ḥadā'-i-qu's-Sihr, pp. 30 and 41.

§ Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl, (Introduction), fol. 79b.

vaunting his superiority over Mas'ūd-i-S'ād acknowledges that he had three Dīwāns, one Arabic, one Persian and one Hindustānī. It seems to me very probable that Mas'ūd's Hindustānī Dīwān was still extant during Khusraw's time, and his Hindustānī verses must have served as models to Khusraw. It is really unfortunate that his Hindustānī poems have not been preserved. Mas'ūd has used Hindustānī words in some of his Persian poems. In his 'qasīda'* on Prince Saif-u'd-Dawlah on the capture of Agra, there occurs the following verse :—

چو رعد از ابر بغرید کوس محمودی
بر آمد از پس دیوار حصن مارا مار

Elliot† translates "مارا مار" as "Strike, strike," and says that "this is the first use of a Hindustānī phrase in a Persian author." Among many Hindustānī phrases which Mas'ūd uses is "برشکال" The word "برشکال" is a compound Hindi phrase

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 89.

† The History of India, vol. IV., p. 524.

(برهن+کال), meaning the rainy season. The *presence of these* Hindustānī phrases in Mas'ūd's Dīwān proves that being born and brought up in India, he was naturally familiar with the Indian tongue. No wonder that he composed verses in Hindustānī. As regards his Hindustānī Dīwān, Mīrzā Muḥammad* says that "it may be conjectured almost certainly that such a Dīwān never existed" and supporting this assertion says that "as Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān boasts in at least ten different passages in his "qaṣīdas" that he is master of two languages, Arabic and Persian, it is strange that he should not add the Hindustānī language and boast that he was the master of three languages." The reason why Mas'ūd-i-S'ād has omitted all mention of Hindustānī is quite plain. Arabic was the language of the religion, Persian was the language of the Court, and what was Hindustānī? It was the language of the conquered people. The knowledge of the language of the despised

*Monograph, p. 10.

subject race would not have brought much glory to Mas'ūd-i-S'ād, and, therefore, he does not boast that he was also a master of Hindustānī. It also seems very probable that his Hindustānī verses were not of such a high order as his Arabic and Persian verses were and naturally Mas'ūd felt diffident in styling himself a master of Hindustānī.

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān is one of those rare beings who are produced after centuries, and without doubt, he is one of the greatest poets of the fifth and sixth centuries of the *hijra*. He was essentially a pupil of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī in poetry, as he himself acknowledges it in the following verses :*

ای خواجه بوالفرج نکنی یاد من
تا شاد گردد این دل ناشاد من
نازم بدانکه هستم شاگرد تو
شادم بدانکه هستی استاد من

Although Mas'ūd was a pupil of an Indian poet, he was not unfamiliar with the style of the

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, pp. 254-55.

eminent Persian "qaṣīda"-writers who preceded him. He successfully composed "qaṣīdas" in their style. At a young age, as a panegyrist of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmud, he composed an eloquent "qaṣīda"* in his praise beginning :—

بنظم و نثر کسی را گر افتخار سزاست
مرا سزاست که امروز نظم و نثر مراست

About the great peculiarity of this "qaṣīda" Mas'ūd himself says :—

قصیده خرد و لیکن بقدر و فضل بزرگ
بلفظ موجز و معنیش باز مستوفا است

This "qaṣīda" was written in the style of Labībī, as Mas'ud himself says :—

بدین قصیده که گفتم من اقتدا کردم
باوستاد لبیبی که سیدالشعراست

Labībī was the chief panegyrist of Amīr Abū-Mudhaffar Yusuf, the third son of Subuktigīn, and has been mentioned by 'Awfī.† Mas'ūd was also familiar with 'Unṣurī's verses, as is clear

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 29.
† Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol., II., pp. 40-41.

from the following verse, occurring in a "qasida"* in praise of Sulṭān Mas'ūd :

جز این چه دانم گفتن که عنصری گوید
چنین نماید شمشیر خسروان آثار

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān's high rank as a poet, his originality, his rare genius, fecund and resourceful, are admitted by all critics, Persian and non-Persian. In his own days he had no rivals even amongst the poets of Persia. He has been the source of inspiration to some of the greatest poets of Persia who came after him, and Khusraw† rightly points out that Kamāl-u'd-Dīn Isma'īl, who is called the "Creator of Ideas," Mu'izzī, the poet-laureate of Sanjar and Dhahīr-u'd-Dīn of Nīshāpūr were the imitators of Mas'ūd's style. The following verse in which Adīb Ṣābir‡, while lauding his own genius, alludes to Mas'ūd's poetry :—

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 81.

† Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl, fol. 72b (Introduction).

‡ Relying on Dawlat Shāh, Browne (Lit. His., vol., II., p. 325.) attributes this verse to Falakī of Shirwān, but Hādī Ḥasan (Falakī-i-Shirwānī, p. 62.) is of opinion that this couplet is not by Falakī-i-Shirwānī but by Adīb Ṣābir, and is one of the 37 couplets of an ode contained in the Dīwān of Adīb Ṣābir (*Brit. Mus.* Or. 327, fols. 27-28a).

گر این طرز سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
بجان صد آفرین کردی روان سعد سلمان

Dawlat Shāh says that* "men of letters an poets of distinction have a high opinion of hi verse." All the contemporary poets, eve Sanā'ī and Mu'izzī acknowledged the pre-emi nence of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād and recognised him a their master. Sanā'ī had a special admiratio for Mas'ūd's poetical genius. In the followin verse, quoted by the author of the Haft Iqlīm,† Sanā'ī pays a very high tribute to Mas'ūd' poetry. Sanā'ī says:—

ای مسعدی که باز غزنین را
صورت و سیرتت گلستان کرد
آنچه با جان خلق تو کرد
با چمن ابرهای نیسان کرد
آنچه در گوش شعر تو راندی
در صدف قطرهای باران کرد
چه دعا گویمت که خود هست

* Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'arā, p. 47.

† Haft Iqlīm, fol. 278a.

مر ترا پیشوای گیهان کرد
با تن و جان تو دهاد خدای
آنچه با خضر آب حیوان کرد

From the other verses of this "qit'a" which is not to be found in the printed edition of Sanā'ī's Dīwān, but which according to Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān* is found in the *British Museum MS.* of it, it appears that Sanā'ī at one time made a collection of the poems of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, which he arranged in the form of a Dīwān. Through mistake he incorporated in this Dīwān, some verses of other poets. When Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Ṭāhir b. 'Alī drew Sanā'ī's attention to his mistake, he composed and sent to Mas'ūd-i-S'ād this distinguished "qiṭ'a" making apologies for his inadvertence. If any proof is needed to show Mas'ūd's greatness it is enough to say that Sanā'ī regarded him as "the leader of poets of the world." Mu'izzī "one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in

*Monograph, p. 86.

Persia" in a remarkably fine poem, quoted by Taqi-u'd-Din Kashi and cited by Mirza Muhammad* lavishes great praise on the artistry of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman. Mu'izzi says :—

شریف خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان را
مسخراست سخن چون پری سلیمان را
نسیج وحده که نو حلۀ دهد هر روز
ز کارگاه سخن بارگاه سلطان را
حکایت خردش روشنی دهد دل را
روایت سخنش تازگی دهد جان را
ز شادی ادب و عقل او بدار سلام
همه سلامت و سعداست سعد و سلمان را
اگر دلیل بزرگی است فضل پس نه عجب
که او دلیل بزرگی است فضل یزدان را

In another passage, praising him he says :—

در مجلس بزرگان خالی مباد هرگز
پیرایۀ بزرگی مسعود سعد سلمان
آن شاعر سخنور کز نظم او نکو تر
کس در جهان کلامی نشنود بعد قران

*Monograph, pp. 88-89.

Indeed there cannot be a greater praise than to say that after the verses of the Quran, the poetry of Mas'ūd is the most beautiful.

Rashidi of Samarqand, who was a great poet of his time and whom 'Awfi* extols for his poetic ability, acknowledged the pre-eminence of Mas'ūd. Rashidi in a "qasida" qouted by 'Awfi,† pays a glowing tribute to Mas'ūd's poetic genius and describes him as the 'crown of poets'. He says :—

رسید شعر تو ای تاج شاعران بر من
چو نو شکفته گل اندر بهار گرد چمن

The following verses of this "qasida" which are in the same strain prove what a great regard he had for Mas'ūd's poetice ability :

سپاه علم ترا هست صد هزار علم
درخت فن ترا هست صد هزار فنن
تو آن بزرگ وزیری که از بلاغت تست
بلند فرق معانی و راست قد سخن
چه ساحرست که کار کلک تو که کند
ز مشک تهمت بر سیم پخته در عدن

*Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, vol. II , p. 176.

†Lubāb-u'l-Albab, vol. II., p. 177.

It appears from one of Mas'ūd "qasīda"* addressed to Rashīdī that Mas'ūd used to encourage this poet by offering monetary rewards to him far his beautiful poetic compositions. This financial assistance he could not render from prison. Apologizing for sending him only a poem in return for the one which Rashīdī had sent he says†

بشعر تنها بپذیر عذر من کامروز
زمانه سخت حرونست و بخت بس توسن

This compensation in kind was far great than the payment in cash which Rashīdī used to receive before, for Mas'ūd has lavished much praise on his verses.

Rāshidī was another contemporary poet who acknowledges Mas'ūd's greatness. No account of Rāshidī is to be found anywhere. According to the author of tho Chahār Maqālah‡ he was a

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 170.
† Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 170.
‡ Chahār Maqālah, p. 28.

distinguished poet of the House of Ghazna. The following verses by Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-Salmān prove that he was one of the Court poets of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm :—

خدایگانا امروز را شدی را
بفر دولت سلطان ابوالمظفر
رسید شعر بشعری و شد بگوهکی
چو جود کف تو اشعار اومشهر

Rāshidī was greatly opposed to Mas'ūd-i-S'ād but he brought this haughty poet to his knees by the real supriority of his workmanship. In a "qaṣīda" addressed to Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd he alludes to this :—

خدایگانا دانی که بندهٔ تو چه کرد
بشهر غزنین با شاعران چهره زبان
هر آن‌قصیده که گفتیش را شدی یکماه
جواب گفتم به زان بدیهه هم زمان
اگر نه بیم تو بودی شها بحق خدای
که راشدی را بفگندمی ز نام و ز نان

We must remember that this must have happened when Mas'ūd was young, for the "qaṣīda"

is addressed to Saif-u'd-Dawlah. It is to Mas'ūd's credit that even in his youth he could excel the veteran poets of his day.

'Uthmān Mukhtārī of Ghazna composed many "qaṣīdas" in praise of Mas'ud-i-S'ād-i-Salmān. Mukhtārī was such a great poet that even Sanā'ī pays tribute to his ability by addressing a beautiful "qaṣīda" to him. The following verses clearly prove that Mas'ūd was held in high esteem by this poet, and that he occupied a very high rank amongst the contemprary poets for the grace and elegance of his verses. Here are some verses of Mukhtārī :—*

بر اهل سخن تنگ ماند میدان

وز جای بشد پای هر سخندان

هر طبع که بر سحر بود قادر

از عجز چو مسحور گشت حیران

خاطر نبرد پی همی به معنی،

فکرت بکشد سر همی ز فرمان

چون جزو بکل باز شد معنی

زی خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان

* Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I., p. 605.

ابر هنرش ناپدید گوشه
بحر سخنش ناپدید پایان
هر بیتی کم اندیشه تر ز شعرت
شد نادره تر تحفهٔ خراسان
اشعار ترا در جهان گرفتن
باشد اثر خاتم سلمان

From what I have shown above it is evident that although Mas'ūd-i-S'ād was an Indian he was recognised as the leader of thought and style even by the greatest poets of Persian origin.

Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān is especially famous for his panegyrics and threnodies. The latter class includes all his poems wherein he laments his condition during the various imprisonments which he underwent. These poems are known as "ḥabsiyyāt" or "prison-poems." In panegyric he could not excel his master Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, but in "ḥabsiyyāt" he stands alone and unrivalled. Waṭwāṭ greatly appreciated Mas'ūd's "prison-poems." "In prison-poems,"

says Rashid-u'd-Din Watwat,* "no poet in the Persian language approaches Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, either in beauty of ideas or grace of expression."

Before dealing with Mas'ūd's "prison-poems" let us turn our attention to his panegyrics. In this category may be included all the poems which he wrote out of prison in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmud, Sulṭān Ibrāhim, Mas'ūd, Shirzād, Arslān Shāh, Bahrām Shāh and many nobles of the court. These poems contain many allusions to the poet's life and times. They are also of historical value, for they throw light upon the Ghaznawide period. The name of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd has been preserved to a very great extent through the "qaṣidas" of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād. Elliot in his History of India† has given translations of some of the "qaṣidas" which record many contemporary events.

*Ḥadā'-qu's-Siḥr, p. 82.

†History of India, vol. IV., pp. 518-527.

Mas'ūd's panegyrics have a wonderful ease, and flow, which many of the subsequent poets like Kamāl of Iṣfahān, have imitated. Although he uses a few archaic words, his artistic mastery over the language, and his metaphors and similes have a charm and reality which do not exist in the works of the poets of the later period who by their frivolous conceits, puns and with their inordinate figurative touches have disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry. Mas'ūd-i-S'ād had an insight into Metaphysics and Mathematics and in his similes, as pointed out by Badi-u'z-Zamān*, he makes use of the knowledge of these subjects. His productive and rich style, with his wonderful command of the language is more than could be expected from a poet of his age. The panegyrics are attractive chiefly for their freedom from fatuous and abortive exaggerations, for the poet's flight of imagination and for the remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his similes and

* Sukhan-wa-Sukhanwarān, p. 216.

metaphors; consistency and fulness in his descriptions with faithful representation of the subject. His puns and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful and dignified in character than those of his contemporaries.

Mas'ūd's panegyrics may be divided into two groups *viz.*, (1) those which he composed before his first imprisonment and (2) those which he composed after his release from his imprisonments. There is a distinct difference between these two groups of his panegyrics. Those which he wrote before going to prison are full of gaiety and enthusiasm. I quote below the "tas͟hbīb" of a "qaṣīda" composed in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd, which is specially remarkable for fine metaphors and comparisons. It shows what great powers Mas'ūd possessed of writing fine poetry even in his younger days:—

مگر مشاطهٔ بستان شدند باد و سحاب
که این به بستن پیرایه و آن گشاد نقاب

بدر و گوهر آراسته پدید آمد
چو نو عروسی در کله از میان حجاب
بر آمد بکردار عاشق رعنا
کشیده دامن و افراخته سر از اعجاب
گهی لالی پاشد همی و گه کافور
گهی حواصل پوشد هوا و گه سنجاب
ز چرخ گردان دولاب وار آب روان
بگاه و بی گه آری چنین بود دولاب
گل مورد خندان و دیده بکشاده
دو طبع مختلفش داده فعل باد و سحاب
بسان دوست که یابد وصال یار عزیز
پس از فراق دراز و پس از عناد و عذاب
ببوی نافهٔ آهوست سنبل بویا
بروی رنگ تذرو است لاله سیراب
ازآن خجسته و شاه اسپرغم هر دو شدند
یکی چو دیده چرخ و یکی چو چنگ عقاب
ز شاخ خویش سمن تافت چون ستارهٔ روز
ز باغ همچو شب از روز شد رمنده غراب
هزار دستان با فاخته گمان بردند
که گشت باران در جام لاله بادهٔ ناب
چو گفت بلبل بانگ نماز غنچهٔ گل
بسان مستان بکشاد چشم خویش از خواب

به پیش لاله بنفشه سجود کرد چو دید
که هر دو برگی از لاله شد یکی محراب
مگر که بود دم جبرئیل باد صبا
که همچو عیسی مریم بزاد گل ز تراب
کنون مگر دم عیسی است بوی گل بسحر
که زنده گشت ازو خاطر ابوالالباب

Quite different from them are the panegyrics which he composed after his release from his first and second imprisonments. There is to be found in them a melancholy and insistent pessimism. The prison life crushed Mas'ūd in every way. He was vexed by the spite of his prejudiced foes and the slanders of malevolent detractors. Naturally his gloom and sadness have found expression even in his panegyric poems. Mas'ūd himself says :—

بر سر کوههای بی فریاد
شد جوانی من هبا و هدر

Mas'ūd's hopelessness and despondency changed his entire view on life. On account of his disillusionment he could not check himself from

giving the following views on the life of man. He says:—*

خویش را در جهان علم کردن
هست بر خویشتن ستم کردن
تن به تیمار در هوس بستن
دل باندیشه جای غم کردن
خشمگین بودن و ز خشم خدای
بر تن بیخرد رقم کردن
دوستان را و زیردستان را
بدل آورد متهم کردن
دست ناراستی زدن درکار
قامت راستی بخم کردن
دل و جان را همه طعام و شراب
نغمهٔ و لحن زیر و بم کردن
از حرام و حلال جاهل وار
روز و شب خواسته بهم کردن
یاد نا کردن از سوال و جواب
خانه پر زر و پر درم کردن
لقمه لقمه ز آتش دوزخ
اندرین مردری شکم کردن

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ad's Dīwan, pp. 172-73.

عمر ناپائدار چون شمنان
در پرستیدن صنم کردن
ای برادر نکو نگر بوجود
سازد اندیشهٔ عدم کردن
تن و جان در خصومتند و سزد
عقل را در میان حکم کردن
گوش بر لا بلند بعجز چو نیست
عادت هیچکس کرم کردن
یا نصیبی که داری از روزی
ممکنت نیست هیچ ضم کردن
نیست از عقل گر بیندیشی
تکیه بر تیغ و بر قلم کردن
همه چاره کنی و نتوانی
چاره این شمردهٔ دم کردن
نیست مسعود سعد باب خرد
دل ز کار جهان دژم کردن
هرچه دانی بگوئی از آنکه زبانت
خشک باشد بوقت نم کردن

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at artificial devices, which is such a striking feature of the

later period, is nowhere visible in his panegyrics. His panegyrics are always well-written, though at times they express the melancholy depression of an oppressed mind. The striking fluidity of his panegyrics is surely due to his great command of the language. In all his panegyrics Mas'ud shows an exquisite mastery over style and naturalness of similes and metaphors.

Having dealt with Mas'ūd's panegyrics, let us come to the original and pathetic "ḥabsiyyāts" which he wrote while imprisoned in various castles. These poems are his pathetic and affecting appeals in verse mingled with praises of Sulṭāns and courtiers. Of these poems Nidhāmi-i-'Arūḍi* says, that whenever he read them, his skin would creep and his eyes fill with tears at their eloquence and pathos. In these poems Mas'ūd laments his condition in prison. In the prison he was denied even the

* Chahār Maqālah, p. 45.

most ordinary comforts of human life, as he himself says :—*

گرماوه سه داشتم بلوهور
وین نزد همه کس مهان است
امروز سه سال شد که مویم
مانندهٔ موی کافرانست
بر تارک و گوش و گردن من
گوئی نمد تر گرانست

In these poems he longs for the days passed in his own town and expresses his yearning to return to his native city. He alludes to his weariness and heaviness of heart and longs to see his little daughter, wife, mother and other relatives from whom he has been separated. Such original and pathetic verses are bound to have effect on all who read them, for they portray the inward sentiments of a helpless man, entirely cut off from the outside world and all his near and dear ones. These poems are written in the most perfect style. I quote

*Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 254.

below one of these poems which is so touching and pathetic. It begins :—*

از کردهٔ خویشتن پشیمانم
جز توبه رهٔ دگر نمیدانم
کارم همه بخت بد به پیچاند
در کام زبان همی چه پیچانم
این چرخ بکام من نمی گردد
بر شهرهٔ سخن همی چه گردانم

He continues in this vein and a few verses further on he says :—

تا زادهٔ ام ای شگفت محبوسم
تا مرگ مگر که وقف زندانم
یکچند کشیدهٔ داشت بخت بد
در محنت و در بلای الوانم
چون پیرهن عمل بپوشیدم
بگرفت قضائی بد گریبانم
بر بیهدهٔ باز مبتلا گشتم
آورد قضا بسیج ویرانم
بر مغز من ای سپهر هر ساعت
چندین چه زنی که من نه سندانم

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 136.

در خون چه کشی قلم نه زوبینم
در تف چه بری دلم نه پیکانم
حمله چه کنی که کند شمشیرم
پویه چه دهی که تنگ میدانم
رو رو که بایستاد شبدیزم
بس بس که فروگسست خفتانم
سبحان الله مرا نگوید کس
تا من چه سزای بند سلطانم
والله که چو گرگ یوسفم والله
بر خیره همی نهند بهتانم
گر هرگز ذره کژی باشد
در من نه ز پشت سعد سلمانم

And in the concluding verses he says :—

از قصهٔ خویش اندکی گفتم
گرچه سخن است بس فراوانم
پیوسته چو ابر و شمع میگریم
وین بهمت چو حرز و مدح میخوانم
فریاد رسیدم ای مسلمان
از بهر خدائی اگر مسلمانم

In the following "prison-poem" Mas'ūd describes his utmost destitution and misery in prison with supreme elegance. He says :—*

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, pp. 124-25.

تیر و تیغ ست بر دل و جگرم
غم تیمار دختر و پسرم
که بدیشان گذاردم شب و روز
غم تیمار مادر و پدرم
جگرم پاره است و دل خسته
از غم و درد آن دل و جگرم
نه خبر میرسد مرا زیشان
نه بدیشان همی رسد خبرم
باز گشتم اسیر قلعهٔ نای
سود کم کرد با قضا حذرم
از بلندی حصن و تندی کوه
منقطع گشت از زمین نظرم
من چو خواهم که آسمان بینم
سر فرود آرم و زمین نگرم
از ضعیفی دست و تنگی جای
نیست ممکن که پیرهن بدرم
از غم و درد چون گل نرگس
روز و شب با سرشک و با سهرم
یا ز دیده ستاره می بارم
یا بدیده ستاره می شمرم
در دل من شد است بحر عمل
من چگونه ز دیده ابر شوم

گشت لاله ز خون دیده رخم

شد بنفشه ز زخم دست برم

همه احوال من دگر گون شد

راست گوئی سکندر دگرم

آب صافی شد است خون دلم

خون تیره شد است آب سرم

ای جهان سختی تو چند کشم

وی فلک عشوهٔ تو چند خرم

بستد از من زمانه هر چه بداد

راضیم با زمانه سر بسرم

The above verses clearly demonstrate Masu‘d's supreme mastery in composing this kind of poetry. Mas‘ūd's "prison-poems" are more attractive than the "ḥabsiyyāt" of Khāqānī, for they do not glitter with expressions hard to interpret. They are also free from grammatical artifices which so often mar Khāqānī's verses. and which leave the reader cold.

Mas‘ūd-i-S‘ād was essentially a "qaṣīda"-writer, and it is on this form of verse that his reputation rests, but his Dīwān also contains a

number of odes, a large number of quatrains and a "mathnawī". Mas'ūd's "ghazals" are not distinguished in any way, but they serve as good specimens of early "ghazal"-writing. I have not been able to appreciate Mas'ūd's "rubā'īs."

While governor of Chālandar Mas'ud composed his beautiful "mathnawī" in praise of the courtiers and companions of Amīr Shīrzād, amongst whom he himself was. I give below some of the opening verses of this "mathnawī." These verses are especially striking for they very accurately give the description of the rainy season in India. The "mathnawī" begins :—*

برشکال ای بهار هندوستان
ای نجات از بلای تابستان
دادی از اتهرمه بشارتها
باز رستیم از آن حرارتها
هز سو از ابر لشکری داری
در امارت مگر سر داری

* Mas'ūd-i-S'ād's Dīwān, p. 241.

بادهای تو میغها دارند
میغهای تو تیغها دارند
رعدهای تو کوسها کوبند
چرخ گوئی همی که بکشو بند
طبع و حال هوا دگر کردی
دشتها را همه شمر کردی
سبزها را طراوتی دادی
عمرها را حلاوتی دادی
راغ را گل زمردین کردی
باغ را شاخ بسدین کردی
ای شگفتی نکو نگار گری
رنگ طبعی نکو بکار بری
تو بدین حملهٔ که افگندی
بیخ خشکی ز خاک بر کندی
تیر بگذشت ناگهان برما
منهزم گشت لشکر گرما
تن ما زیر جامهای تنگ
گشت تازه ز بادهای خنک
اینت راحت که رنج گرما نیست
پس ازین جز امید سرما نیست
حبذا ابرهای پر نم تو
خرما سبزهای خرم تو

عیش و عشرت کنون توان کردن
مئی شادی کنون توان خوردن
که ز گرمی خمر نگردد جان
بشود همچو چوب خشک دهان
جام بادهٔ بجوشد اندر کف
چون سر دیگ بر نهاده کف
گرچه دور اوفتد ز چشم برم
من بوهم اندرو همی نگرم

Badi-u'z-Zamān* makes the following ungenerous remark on Mas'ūd's " mathnawi ":—

"پست اشعارش یعنی مثنویات که اگر نمی ساخت بهتر بود"

Any just reader who goes through Mas'ūd's "mathnawi" with attention will see how unjustifiable is this remark of the critic.

In old days it was necessary for those who aspired to poetical honours at the Court to possess considerable powers of improvisation. Mas'ūd possessed enormous wit and extraordinary power of composing poems on the spur of the moment, whenever occasion arose. Of the

* Sukhan-wa-Sukhanwarān, p. 214.

several instances the following "rubā'ī" is one. He composed it at the Court of Bahram Shāh.*

همواره رخ نگاه ما تو است نه گل
این روی رخ نگار نهکوست نه گل
ما را رخ دوست باید ای دوست نه گل
زیرا گل چشم ما رخ اوست نه گل

The poet's impromptu was a flash of genius, and the whole Court was amazed at his wonderful feat. Under the orders of Bahrām Shāh Mas'ūd's mouth was filled with gold by way of reward.

Such was Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān, one of the greatest of Persian poet's and the following verse is but a modest confession of his great ability:

من آنکسم که گهه نظم هیچ گوینده
بلفظ و معنی من چون ندارد استقلال

* Khizāna-i-'Āmirah, p. 14.

CHAPTER V.

Tāj-u'd-Dīn of Delhi.

The period extending from the end of Bahrām Shāh's reign down to the accession of Sulṭān Īltutmish to the throne is a barren period in the literary history of this country. This period which extends over sixty years (A. H. 547-607) witnessed some of the greatest political changes in India. The power of the Ghaznawides was completely destroyed, Muḥammad Ghaurī led a series of successful campaigns in India, and at length as a result of these efforts in A. H. 602, India came to have a Muslim king of its own, ruling not from an outside capital, but in India itself. Delhi became the capital of India and Quṭb-u'd-Dīn became its first Muslim Ruler. He was a cultured man. His love of learning was so great that even during the period of turmoil he found time to encourage literature. During

his time flourished an eminent poet—Bahā-u'd-Dīn of Aush. He was a foreigner and is thus excluded from our purview. It was in the reign of Sulṭān Īltutmish that we first find an Indian becoming famous for his verses in Persian.

Malik Tāj-u'd-Dīn, the administrator poet, is a dominant figure during the reigns of Sulṭān Īltutmish and his son Sulṭān Rukn-u'd-Dīn. The author of the Tuḥfat-u'l-Kirām*, the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh†, the 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn‡, the Tārīkh Firishtah§, the Gul-i-R'anā‖ and the Majm'a-u'l Fuṣaḥā¶, all designate him with the title of "ذره", which literally means an atom. The authors of the Tuḥfat-u'l-Kirām, and the 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, state that as he was short of stature and thin, he was called "ذره" but Lachhmī Narāyan

*Tuḥfat-u'l-Kirām, fol. 280a.

† Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 67.

‡ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fols. 160a-161b.

§ Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 66.

‖ Gul-i-R'anā, fol. 66b.

¶ Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I., p. 176.

in his Gul-i-R'ana says that he was given this nickname to distinguish him from another man of the same name, popularly known as Tāj-u'd-Dīn, the tall. We thus see that Briggs* is entirely mistaken when he describes him as Tajood-Deen Zoobery. Taqī Kāshī† also states that Tāj-u'd-Dīn was popularly called " ریزه ".

All his biographers state that he was born and brought up in Delhi, which instead of Lahore, had then become the chief seat of literary activities. Tāj-u'd-Dīn rose to be the Secretary of State‡ " دبیر مملکت ", a post of considerable responsibility under the king. He had much influence over the king and was his constant companion.§ He wrote many " qaṣīdas " in his praise. 'Abd-u'l Qādir Badāunī|| states :—

---

* History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, vol. I., p. 211.

† Khulāṣat-u'l-Ash'ar, fol. 374b.

‡ Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 67.

§ Tuḥfat-u'l-Kirām, fol. 280a.

|| Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 66.

"در سنة ست و عشرين و ستمایة (۶۲۶) رسولان عرب از مصر برای او خلعت و القاب آوردند و ازین شادی قبها در شهر بستند و جشنها ساختند"

The author of the Tārīkh Firishtah* more accurately says that an embassy from Arabia, bringing with it royal robes from the Caliph, arrived at Delhi. These historians do not mention the name of the Caliph. It was Abū-J'afar Manṣūr-al-Mustanṣir, the father of the last 'Abbāsid Caliph, who sent an embassy of State to invest Īltutmish with the robe of office as the recognised sovereign of India. The seal was set on his career of unvaried success and thenceforth the king inscribed upon his coins not only the proud legend "The mighty Sulṭān, Sun of the Empire and the Faith, Conquest-laden Īltutmish," but also "Aid of the Commander of the Faithful," Nāṣir-Amīr-u'l-Mū'minīn. The author of the Tārīkh Firishtah† says that the king assumed the royal robes with joy, and

* Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 66.

† Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 65.

made a great festival, distributing rich presents. A congratulatory poem on this auspicious occasion was composed by Tāj-u'd-Din. The poem of Tāj-u'd-Din besides being a specimen of "qaṣida"-writing of those days is of great historical value, for it definitely states that the investitures of honour were sent to Sulṭān Iltutmish from al-Mustanṣir, the 'Abbāsid Caliph of the time. The text of the "qaṣida", as based on Taqi Kashi‡, is given below :—

ناصرالاسلام مستنصر که طوق طاعتش
ز آسمان در گردن اهل زمین آورده اند
شادی عامست در شهر اینکه بهر شهر یار
خلعت خاص امیرالمومنین آورده اند
خلعت یارب چگونه چون عروس آراسته
راست بر بالای شاه راستین آورده اند
مرکبی کاندر روانی آب را ماند روان
یا مگر باد صبا را زیر زین آورده اند
قصه کوته کن براقست آنکه پایش را شکال
از سر زلف دراز حور عین آورده اند

‡Khulaṣat-u'l-Ash'ār, fol. 374b.

مرکبی زین سان مبارک طلعتی میمون چنین
از برای ظل یزدان شمس دین آورده اند
شاه شمس الدین و دنیا آنکه روز رزم و بزم
آفرین بروی ز عالم آفرین آورده اند
حامی آفاق الملتمس که عزم و حزم او
گره بر گرد جهان حصن حصین آورده اند
تاج بخش خسروان صاحبقران عهد آنکه
خصم را با بخت میمونش قرین آورده اند
چتر دارش زیر چرخ اخضر گردون نثار
از کواکب بیکران در ثمین آورده اند
همچو رای پیر او نزدیک ارباب خرد
هر زمانی آیت فتح مبین آورده اند
طینت پاکش ز آب خضر معجون کرده اند
خاک رزم از خون خصمانش عجین آورده اند
دست در پیشانی شیران نر زد در وغا
سروران زین روی بر پائش جبین آورده اند
پیش درگاهش کمر فغفور و قیصر بسته اند
بهر در پاشش زر از جان نگین آورده اند
با یمینش بحر کی آرد زدن لاف یسار
چون یسار اهل عالم زان یمین آورده اند
خصم و عمر بدسگال و نیکخواهش را بهم
هو سر زنبور زهر و انگبین آورده اند

ای شهنشاهی که رای هند و خاقان و خطا
بر سر حکمت سر از رای برین آورده اند
بهفتهٔ ملک ترا از امن پلداری مکو
جای زیر شهپر روح‌الامین آورده اند
از نهیب فر اعلام فلک فرسای گشت
نعرهٔ کاندو تن شیر عرین آورده اند
نقره خنگ چرخ با زرین ستامت نوبتی است
لاجرم داغ هلالی بر سرین آورده اند
تا مثال ملک از طغرای تو زینت گرفت
نامهٔ فتح تو حقاً بعد حین آورده اند
تیر تو مرغیست کز سیمش عقاب فتنه را
راست چون زاغ کمان گوشه نشین آورده اند
خسروا از رشک صورتها که بر ایوان تست
چین در ابروی نکو رویان چین آورده اند
صحن درگاهت بنزهت گلستانی شد ازو
خار خاری در دل خلد برین آورده اند
شهر را از شهی جهت در زر و زیور بسته اند
قبه را سر بر سپهر هفتمین آورده اند
چرخ را با آنکه دارد قرص خور اندر کنار
درمیان خوان حسدت ریزهٔ چین آورده اند
الطرب کز چنگ غم در پردهٔ تقدیر حق
خصم را ره ره نواهای حزین آورده اند

بر سماع خسروانی جام مئی می نوهن از آنکہ
نیست مئی از کوثر ماء معین آوردہ اند
در بقای چشم بی مثلث که روح دولتست
روح را در جسم خلق عالمین آوردہ اند
تا ز نیکی و بدی در عالم کون و فساد
در دل احباب و اعدا مہر و کین آوردہ اند

The above "qaṣīda" is a fine specimen of elegance, and is noteworthy for a singular combination of beauty of language and melody. It also shows that the tendency to indulge in rhetorical effects and artificial devices, had not yet started in India. The "tashbīb" is short yet pithy.

Tāj-u'd-Dīn accompanied the king in many battles. In A. H. 629, when Sulṭān Īltutmish went to besiege the fort of Gwalior, which had, during the short reign of Aram, again fallen into the hands of the Hindūs, Tāj-u'd-Dīn accompanied the king on this expedition; and was present at the capture of the fort, which fell after a siege of a year. He commemorated*

* Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 66.

ie date of this successful event in the following
ırses :—

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین بگرفت
از عون خدا و نصرت دین بگرفت
آن قلعه کالیور و آن حصن حصین
در ستمائة سنة ثلثین بگرفت

ıese lines were carved on a stone over one of
e gateways and were still to be seen in the
ırly 19th century, when Briggs translated the
ırikh Firishtah. In a foot-note* he says "the
ɔne and the lines are still to be seen." The
ırector-General of Archæology in India upon
y request made an enquiry from the Superin-
ıdent of Archæology, Gwalior State, and
formed me that this inscription which record-
the conquest of the Fort of Gwalior is no
ıger on any of the Gateways of the Fort. It
a wonder how this interesting epigraph has
sappeared in the course of a few hundred years.

* History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in
lia, vol. I., p. 211.

Among his contemporaries no one could surpass Tāj-u'd-Dīn in his literary accomplishments.* He was also a great poet. The author of the Gul-i-R'anā† describes him as "the nightingale of India." As a Court-poet he constantly wrote "qaṣīdas" in praise of Sulṭān Īltutmish and his son. In A. H. 633, when Sulṭān Īltutmish died and his son Rukn-u'd-Dīn ascended the throne, nobles made their offerings, and swore allegiance, while the poets of the age vied with each other in his praise. Tāj-u'd-Dīn also welcomed the new king to the throne of Delhi in a long panegyric, of which the following verses have been quoted in the Tārīkh Firishtah:‡

مبارک باد ملک جاودانی

ملک را خاصه در عهد جوانی

یمین الدوله رکن الدین که آمد

درش از یمن چون رکن یمانی

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 160a.

† Gul-i-R'anā, fol. 66b.

‡ Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 67.

The above verses have also been quoted in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh* and the 'Urafāt-u'l-Āshiqīn‡. This "qaṣīda" was much appreciated by the king and the people. Tāj-u'd-Dīn along with other poets was highly rewarded† for it. It is really unfortunate that the whole "qaṣīda" is not quoted in any book. It would have shown how far panegyric-writing of this kind "تہنیت" had then developed in India.

Taqī Auhadī§ also cites some of his verses, which show that far-fetched comparisons were still not in vogue in India. The poets still derived their similes from common objects and familiar things. The following verses may serve as a specimen :

چه زلفست آن به بهس بر روی جانان
کزو گردد پریشانی پریشان
بمهر و ماه میخواهد کند جنگ
رخش پوشیده است از زلف خفتان

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 69.
†'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 160b.
‡Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 67.
§ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 160b.

خوشا رنجا خوشا دردا خوشا عشق

کسی کو را نباشد نهست انسان

چو شمشیرش بخندد خصم گرید

بلی از برق پیدا گشت باران

کند مهرش نبات‌النعش را جمع

کند قهرش ثریا را پریشان

هر آنکو برخلافش دم بر آرد

نفس گردد بمغز اندرش پیکان

بود بی مدح تو تیغ معانی

چو مصراق فقیران کند دندان

Besides the king, Tāj-u'd-Dīn addressed panegyrics to nobles and ministers. The following verses are taken from a "qaṣida"* which he addressed to the chief minister :—

ای صاحبی که چون اثر رحمت خدای

باران جود تو بزمین و زمن رسد

برخاک آستان تو چون بگذرد صبا

اندر مشام چرخ نسیم سمن رسد

از جلس حادثات ز تاثیر دست تست

هر عطر گر شکوفه بصحن چمن رسد

* Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 160b-161a.

در فصل نوبهار ز تاثیر دست تست
بهر سر عدو همه تیغ بمن رسد
گرچه فرشته روی و از تاب چشم تست
هر شعله کز فلک بسوی اهرمن رسد
از فر رای روشن گیتی فروزتست
از تیرگی هر آنچه بروی سمن رسد
موسی صفت مشهری و هارون صفت وزیر
زان قوم را ز سعی تو سلوی و من رسد
سهم سخن بمدح تو سنجیدهٔ جو بجو
لیکن زر از ترازو جودت بمن رسد

Tāj-u'd-Dīn was himself comfortably off, and it should not be construed that love of money prompted him to address these laudatory panegyrics to the nobles of the Court. It was customary in those days to address such poems to kings and ministers in which the poets extolled the virtue of their patrons. The approbation of the kings and ministers raised the dignity of the poets, increased their popularity and at times also proved a source of income to them.

Subtlety of music and power to condense a lot of thoughts in a few words with dramatic

CHAPTER VI.

Shihāb-u'd-Dīn of Badāun.

Shiblī* has said that time has effaced the name of Shihāb-u'd-Dīn Mihmarah, and we do not know anything about him. To construct the biography of such a forgotten man is not an easy task, especially when one has to do it with the aid of the Persian biographical works, which invariably tend to become encomiastic when dealing with a great poet. Shihāb fills a place apart from the contemporary poets as a group. He is to be remembered not as one of the Court -poets, who flocked to the throne of that young and convivial monarch, Rukn-u'd-Dīn Fīrūz, singing his praises, but as a creator of new style in "qaṣīda."

The poet's name was Shihāb-u'd-Dīn. He was a son of Jamāl-u'd-Dīn† and was a native of Badāun as the great poet Amīr Khusraw says :—

* Sh'ir-u'l-'Ajam, vol. II., p. 145.
† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351a.

در بداؤن مهرهٔ سرمست برخیزد ز خواب
بشنود گر نغمهٔ مرغان دهلی زین نوا

This verse has been quoted with slight variations in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh*, the Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣahā†, the Majm'a-u'n-Nafāi's‡, the Gul-i-R'anā§ and the 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn‖. The authors of the Makhzan-u'l-Gharā'ib¶ and the Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm / also state that he belonged to Badāun. 'Abd-u'l Qādir Badāunī in his Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh after lavishing a good deal of praise upon him, states that he felt it his duty as a townsman of Shihāb to place before the public some of his forgotten verses. He says$:—

"I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as

*Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 70.
† Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I., p. 304.
‡ Majm'a-u'n-Nafāi's, fol. p. 230a.
§ Gul-i-R'anā, fol. 131a.
‖ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351a.
¶ Makhzan-u'l-Gharā'ib, fol. 388a.
/ Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm, fols. 463b-464a.
$ Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 71.

a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship."

The above remark of 'Abd-u'l Qādir, who belonged to Badāun, proves that Shihāb was also a native of the same town. Shihāb's love for Badāun also proves that it was his native place. He requested the king for the grant of some land in the vicinity of Badāun, although it was a desert-looking place, infested with wild beasts. He says :—

پهل بخشا در بداؤن بایدم ویرانهٔ
گرچه جای گرگ و کرگ و شهر باشد این‌دیار

Shihāb was one of the greatest scholars of his day, and Khusraw in the Introduction to his Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl* describes him as the "nightingale of the garden of knowledge." In the

* Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl (Introduction), fol. 64b.

concluding portion of his Hasht Bihisht* Khusraw lavishes a good deal of praise on Shihāb for his varied accomplishments in many branches of arts and science. In these verses Khusraw acknowledges his deep debt of gratitude to Shihāb, who gave him lessons in verse-making and helped him in many ways. He makes the following admission :—

نور دل چون بعالم افکندہ
سایہ بر کار من هم افکندہ
من بدو عرض کردہ نامۂ خویش
او باصلاح راندہ خامۂ خویش
دیدہ هر نکتہ را رقم برقم
رنج بر خود نهاد و منت هم
شمع من یافتہ ضیا از وی
مس من گشتہ کیمیا از وی

It is to the credit of Shihāb's poetic skill and ability that he could produce such a great pupil as Khusraw, who by his great genius, as rightly observed by the author of the Muntakhab-u't-

* Hasht Bihisht, pp. 225-27.

Tawārīkh* eclipsed all the former poets of India.

Shihāb was a poet of great gifts and is ranked as the foremost poet of his time. At the Court on account of his great learning he enjoyed the special favour of the king. He refused to flatter or fawn on the great and unlike other Court -poets never employed mean and despicable methods to extort money. Taqī Auḥadī† states that as late as his own time he was regarded as a great master of poetry, and at Lāhore he collected about three thousand of his verses. In his 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn describing his greatness Taqī Auḥadī‡ pays him the following glowing tribute :—

” در شعر وی صنایع و بدائع بسیار و فصاحت و بلاغت بیشمار ست و در اکثر قصائد التزامات مشکله غریبه مکرر نموده و نهایت قدرت بصدد ظهور رسانیده “

---

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 71.

† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351a.

‡ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351a.

The author of the Makhzan-u'l-Ghara'ib* states that his verses are like pearls. He says :—

" طبعی موزون و شعری چون دُر مکنون داشت "

Shihab did not imitate the old models of the "qasidas", but there is unmistakeable evidence to show that the poet tried to improve the general trend of "qasida"-writing. He may be deemed the creator of a new style in "qasida" poetry. Up till his time panegyrics of kings and their ministers had been the chief output of all the "qasida"-writers of India. Go through the Diwans of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman from beginning to end, observe minutely the whole range of poems written by the Indian poets who flourished before Shihab and you will not be able to discover a single "qasida" in praise of God or the Holy Prophet. It was Shihab who first introduced a tinge of mysticism in his "qasidas". Since the following "qasida" is the first specimen of this kind of poetry in India, I quote it below in its entirety,

* Makhzan-u'l-Ghara'ib, fol. 388a.

as a typical specimen of Shihāb's poetry. This "qaṣida" although not free from rhetorical adornment proves Shihāb's exuberant genius. It is written in the grand style cultivated by Court-poets and is entirely of a mystical character. We can easily notice that he had a real sympathy with fervid mysticism in which he found consolation for the intolerable burdens of this earthly life. He says :—*

الفم بلوح هستی همه هیچ در نشانی
بیقائی غیر قائم ز وجود خویش فانی
صف آخر ایستاده بامید به نشیمنی
ز تحرّک آرمیده بصفات بی نشانی
صفت الف ندارم که الف کژی ندارد
همه نقش من کژ آمد ز صحیفهٔ معانی
دم بلبل است و گل خوش من بهخیر چو سوسن
چو الف زبان ندارم چه کنم بده زبانی
چو یکیم آرمیده چه دوم پسی دویده
چو نه بیم آشکارا چه دوم ره نهانی
فلک از زمین بصفت نشناسم او چه هستم
چو فلک بخیره گردی چو زمین بلا دوانی

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 352b.

نه چو آبم از طراوت نه چو آتشم ز رفعت
نه چو بادم از لطافت نه چو خاکم از گرانی
نه ازین چهار طبعم ز بخار پار گویم
فضلات پاره کهنی زده لاف پار گانی
خردم چو تن گرفته صفت خطا ستائی
طمعم چو کوه بسته کمر عطا ستائی
شد وقف واه حرصم ز حقیقت آیتی نه
زده زحمت مثالب ره وحمت مثانی
طمعم فریفت زانسلی که بهرد از نهادم
حرکات خسی خواری برکات عشر خوانی
گهرم چو جسم خالی ز تفکر و تذکر
بصرم چو شمع سائل بغوانی و افانی
سخن ابدار خواهم ز زبان همچو تیغم
قلمم نمود دهره ز پی دونان ستانی
سخن آب شد که آتش شد ازین حدیث آری
بود این همه کم آبی ز هوای بیش نانی
صنم آن خسی کم از کم که بصحبت نهرزم
وگرم جوی بدانی نخری بوابیکانی
عجب ای شهاب از تو که ز سلطنت دوبین راه
نه اسپر هشت خانه نه سوار هفت خوانی
نه فرشته نه شیطان ز کدام کان کاهی
نه مقیم و نه مسافر ز کدام آستانی

دل و عقل سر کشیده ز گزند گور خانه
بر سمله نهاده بهرند گور خانی
ز هوس بروی عشرت شده مست و ابالی
ز هوا براه تهمت زده گام کامرانی
در عقل نیک بسته غم ناز لاله عارض
رگ دیده خون کشاده پی جام ارغوانی
عفن هوا مثالی زمن زمین نظیری
گهر عرض بقائی صدف تهی دهانی
بدم چو برق سوزان بد و نیک را فسونی
ز دل چو سنگ خارا تر و خشک را فسانی
ز هوس بطبع گردان چو فلک بنقشبندی
ز صبا بحرص پویان چو صبا بناتوانی
غم هفت و چار در دل زده هردم از رعونت
در صد هزار حیلت بادای یکدوکانی
چو زمین کثیف دایم سخفت بماه گردون
نرسی بسیر ملکی ز مقام پاسبانی
تو خود از سر بطالت نرسیده یکزمان هم
ز نقیضهٔ زمانه بفریضهٔ زمانی
ز صلاح اهل دل ها خبریت باد یکره
که درین دو کون باری بفساد داستانی
کژی از دل تو زائد چو تکبر از سفاهت
بدی از تن تو خیزد چو تهور از جوانی

نم کوزهٔ ریائی دم کوزهٔ جفائی
گل روضهٔ هوائی گل حوضهٔ روانی
بحضور جان گدازی مگر از تف تموزی
بقصیده برق ریزی مگر از دم خزانی
تو بشبهه طفل طالب همه عمر نقش باطل
ز خیال کرد پهرت غم دهر در جوانی
هوس است شعر و بحرش چو سراب ز آب خالی
نفس است رنج و ذوقش به از آب زندگانی
هوست چو جمع گردد شود آن خیال بازی
نفست چو نظم یابد بود آن گهر فشانی
هوس خیال تا کی نفسی گهر فشان کن
بثنای آنکه اول خردش ندید ثانی
شه تخت لی محمد که سرادق شرف زد
بسوی در مهیمن ز سرای أم هانی
بشری ملک لطافت فلکم زمین تواضع
چو فلک بپاک جسمی چو ملک بپاک جانی
گهری که بود جائش بخزانهٔ الهی
قمری که تافت نورش ز سپهر جاودانی
گهری که قیمتی تر ز وجود او نهاید
بدلالت عناصر ز محیط آسمانی
قمری که هر سحرگه چو شب سیاه گشتی
ز خجالت عقیقش رخ کوکب یمانی

شکرین زبان رسولی که بود نجات امت
بعقیده زبانش ز عقیله زبانی
گهرین بمان فصیحی که فصاحت بیانش
چو صبرگان کند خون دل گنج شایگانی
ز جمال عارضش کم رخ آفتاب شرقی
ز قوام قامتش خم قد سرو بوستانی
بحساب بر گرفته ره مالک الرقابی
بکلام بر کشاده در صاحب القرانی
جذبات شوق باطن بمکاشفت کشیده
ز بسیط کاینانش بمحیط لامکانی
بقوید دوست جانش شده مست بر امیدش
پسر ابو قحافه زده قحف دوستکانی
ربطی بقا فگنده سخنش قضای حق را
شده از پی سیاست عمرش بعدل بانی
قدم سموم درین ره ز پیش نهاده مردی
که نزد غرور راهش بمتاع این جهانی
شده رکن چار میلش علی آنکه بد که کهی
ز شعاع ذوالفقارش رخ مهر زعفرانی
ملکا بحق یاران که مرا بیارئی خود
ز بلائی یار نادان همه عمر وا رهانی
ز من آنکه این قصیده طلبیده باد جانش
چو قصیده ام مزین بجواهر معانی

TRANSLATION.

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign. My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif, for Alif has no crookedness. All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while I am careless like the lily. Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues?

Since I can seize it while thus at rest, why should I pursue? Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path?

By stratagem, I can recognise no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like

the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary.

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

I am not made out of these four elements. I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice, huge as mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings of the *'ashars*.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my

ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat, if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

Oh Shihâb! it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares nor the Knight of the Seven Places.

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller, from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the

tortures of the grave, you have dressed yourself in Gūrkhānī silk.

You have become utterly regardless from lust, owing to desire for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation you have planted the foot of success.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of your wisdom. The vein of your eye has shed blood from desire for the cup of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth. You are a pearl of transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed.

With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter of bad and good: with heart like a flint, you are the whet-stone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-designing, from your youth hasting with greed, you are like a child in weakness.

You carry the sorrow of the seven heavens and the four elements in your heart, and every

moment from pride you are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance of one genuflection.

You are coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always of the moon in the heavens; you will not reach the dignity of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz; in your ode you scatter snow, perchance you are of the breath of autum.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatter of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? Make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

The King of the throne of "Kun" is Muḥammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector from the house of Ummahānī.

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowliness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words, from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

By his accountantship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abu Qahăfah has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress for the decrees of God. 'Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order, has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was 'Ali who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me this "qaṣīda", may his life like my "qaṣīda" be ornamented with the jewels of meaning.

S͟hihāb's greatness unlike that of the other court poets was curiously original. As the writer of the artificial "qaṣīdas" (قصائد مصنوع) he is to be remembered for his great originality and skill. He was the first poet in India to write such "qaṣīdas", and they served as useful models for his great pupil Amīr K͟husraw. K͟husraw has imitated some of his artificial "qaṣīdas" and has also tried to improve upon them. Taqī Kās͟hī* places his artificial "qaṣīdas" side by side with those of the Persian masters like Hakīm Abū 'Alī Jūbbai and others. Writing about the peculiarities of his artificial "qaṣīdas" the author of the Majma'-u'n-Nafā'is† states :—

* K͟hulāṣat-ul-As͟h'ār, fols. 288b-299b.
† Majma'-u'n-Nafā'is, fol. 230a.

"در هر قصیده طرز خاصی دارد بعضی بحذف الف وغیرها بعضی بالتزام شیر و گرگ و پلنگ و قدرت او از آنها معلوم می شود"

Perhaps these "qasidas" do not make any appeal to our taste and may even seem wearisome to modern readers, but they delighted and inspired the poet's contemporaries. On account of their evident originality, beauty and the reputation which they have enjoyed for several centuries, they deserve our special consideration. It required but the remarkable talent, concentration and imagination of Shihāb to produce such "qaṣidas". Inspite of all the artificiality it is to his credit that by a kind of magic he seems to have invested his verses with grandeur and dignity. He surprises his readers by a new trick in each "qaṣida" and convinces them of his own mental powers. They are specimens of his marvellous ingenuity.

'Abd-u'l Qādir in his Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh and Taqī Auḥadī in his 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn have quoted a large number of Shihāb's

artificial "qaṣidas". I give here a few verses from such a "qaṣida" as specimen. The chief artifice in this "qaṣida" consists in using in all its verses only those words which do not contain "الف"., The poet, however, could not avoid the use of "الف" in the name of the noble in whose praise this "qaṣida" is written. The component verses of the "qaṣida"* are as follows:—

زهی چو مهر بجود و کرم شدہ مشهور
علوی قدر تو برتر ز گنبد معمور

نسیم خلق تو در حد شش جهت موصوف
بلند حشمت تو در بزم نه فلک مشهور

محیط علم و خرد هم بهاء دین کز تو
حدیث خلق حسن گشت در زمین مذکور

نسیم طبع تو بر حرف معدلت موصوف
محیط کف تو بر فیض مکرمت مقصور

ز قدر تست معظم نمودہ مسند ملک
ز نور تست مقدس شدہ تجلی طور

مطیع حکم تو در شرق و غرب ترک و عرب
رهین عدل تو در بحر و بر وحوش و طیور

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351b.

چو بصر و کلبج بهر خطه جود تو موصوف
چو بخت و عقل بهر بقعه سعی تو مشکور

تو بی نظیر بعدلی و کس نه بهند نیز
عدیل عدل تو هرگز مگر بروز نشور

The biographers do not mention in whose praise this panegyric was composed. From one of the verses of this "qaṣīda" it is clear that it was composed in praise of one Bahā-u'd-Dīn Ḥasan. Bahā-u'd-Dīn Ḥasan was one of the great nobles of Sultān Rukn-u'd-Dīn's court. He was one of the leading chiefs who took a prominent part in the installation of Sulṭānā Raḍiya to the throne. This "qaṣīda" seems to have been composed in praise of this nobleman.

Another artificial "qaṣīda" composed by Shihāb in praise of Sulṭān Rukn-u'd-Dīn Fīrūz also seems to me singularly striking. Here the diction is harsh the rhymes uncertain, and numbers unpleasing. What beauty there is, we must seek in the artifice which consists in using four words فیل ' شیر ' کرگ ' گرگ in each verse. This "qaṣīda" has been quoted at

length in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh and the 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn.* I quote below some of its component verses :—

هر زمان این پهر گرگ شهر خوی طفل خوار
آن کند با من که پهل و گرگ وقت کار زار
آسمان پیلگون مالد تنم را گرگ سان
روزگار شیروش صبرم رباید گرگ وار
زور گرگم نی و با من تند پهل آسمان
شیر مردی میکند چون کهنه گرگ روزگار
پهل با گرگ آن نکرد و گرگ با میش آن نکرد
شیر چرخ از جور با این شخص چون موی نزار
خصلت گرگست و زور گرگ با شیر فلک
زان همیشه بر دل من درد بارد پهل بار

رکن دنیا شاه پهل افکن بگرز شیر سر
کز سمند گرگ پویش کار بر گرگست زار
دیدهٔ گرگ فلک از شهر گرزش رنگ رنگ
کوههٔ گرگ زمین از پای پهلش غار غار
پهل پیکر گرزش از گرگان کند بیشه تهی
گرگ پویه خنگش از شیران ستاند مرغزار

---

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 352b.

از سر ژوبین شیر گرز او بر کرگ و پیل
آن رسد کو تیغ دشمن تن بجان گرگسار
ای ز شیر گرز کرگ انداز پیل آسای تو
گور بر کرگدن بسان چاه بیژن تنگ و تار
عکس تیغ پیلگونت گر زند بر شیر و کرگ
دیده چون عناب گرگانی کند شانرا چو نار
باد شیر رایتت بر خاک عالم چون وزد
کرگ مست از پیل و گرگ از میش خواهد زینهار
چون تو گرز پیل پیکر گر گرای بیفکند
شیر دندان کرگ ناخن زهره گرگ و مهره مار
کرگ حمله گرگ پویه شیر زهره پیل تن
رخش تست ای بار غلامت همچو رستم صد هزار

پیل بخشا در بداون بایدم ویرانهٔ
گرچه جای گرگ و کرگ و شیر باشد این دیار
تاکه شیر و پیل باشد در مهابت همقدم
تاکه گرگ و کرگ باشد در کتابت یک شمار
خصم گرگ افسونت ای کرگ افکن و پیل اسکناد
باد پیش شیر دهلیزت خاک خوار
همچو شیر و پیل و گرگ و کرگ در گرما بها
دشمنان بیجان شده بر آخر سنگین قطار

TRANSLATION.

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at the time of contest.

The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the rhinoceros; the time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.

I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like a fierce elephant towards me. It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.

The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf so treat the sheep, as the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as hair from oppression.

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength of the rhinoceros. For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the load of an elephant.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with the lion-headed mace, by whose wolf-swift horse the rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

The eye of the wolf of the sky is of all colours from his lion-like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of earth is trodden into hollows, by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of rhinoceros, his wolf-swift horse seizes the meadow from the lions.

From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that happens to the rhinoceros and elephant which happened to the life of Gurgsār from the sword of the brazen-bodied one.

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer elephant-crusher. the tomb becomes narrow and dark for Gurgīn like the pit of Bizhan.

The reflection of thy elephant-coloured, sword if it falls upon lion and rhinoceros makes their

eyes which are like the jujubes of Gurjan to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed. Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badāun, even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and the rhinoceros and the lion.

As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe, and the wolf and the rhinoceros are like in writing, so long may your wolf-crafty enemy, oh rhinoceros-destroyer and

elephant-like in strength, be humbled in the dust before the lion of your portico.

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the stony line in the public baths.

There are many other "qaṣīdas" of Shihāb in which he has made use of certain artifices with much skill and success. The most conspicuous is a "qaṣīda" in praise of God and the Holy Prophet. In this "qaṣīda" he has very skilfully used either "مور" or "موری"* in each hemistich. No less is another artificial "qaṣīda"† composed in praise of the Prophet, in which he has made use of the same artifice with great ability. All these "qaṣīdas" demonstrate his linguistic attainments and rhetorical ingenuities. Undoubtedly he was a great force in the field of Persian poetry of his time, and on account of his evident originality and unsurpassing skill in

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351b.

† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 351a.

"qaṣīda"-writing deserves to be remembered by us.

The biographers do not mention the date of Shihāb's death. In his Introduction to the Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl*, Khusraw makes the following statement :—

"مولانا شهاب الدین مهمرہ و مولانا بهادالدین بخاری که
هر یکی بستان علم را بلبلی بوده اند"

The Introduction to the Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl was written in A. H. 695. This statement of Khusraw clearly proves that Shihāb-u'd-Dīn must have died earlier than A. H. 695.

* Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl (Introduction), fol. 64b.

CHAPTER VII.

'Amīd-u'd-Dīn of Sanam.

For ten years after the death of Iltutmish in A. H. 633, India suffered from the weakness and depravity of his successors. During this short time as many as five kings sat on the throne of Delhi, and naturally during this period of disturbance Persian poetry did not greatly flourish in this country. Sulṭān Rukn-u'd-Dīn Firūz, was a patron of poets but he sat on the throne hardly for seven months. This handsome, generous, soft-hearted young monarch as a prince showed much patronage to the poets, and his premature death proved a source of great loss to Persian poetry in India. The literary activity of the Indian people was revived to some extent in A.H. 644, when Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd came to the throne. The author of the Tārīkh Firishtah* observes that when he

* Tārīkh Firishtah, p. 71.

ascended the throne, he became the patron of learning. The poets of the age vied with one another for the prize at his coronation. In the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh* we find the following "qaṣīda" composed in praise of Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd by 'Amīd :—

چو بردارد نگارم چنگ بندد زخمه بر ناخن

زند ناهید را صد زخم غیرت بر جگر ناخن

ز رشک او ناهید را تب گیرد آن ساعت

کبودش گردد از تاثیر آن تب سر بسر ناخن

حنا بر ناخنش خونین شمر کز وقت رگ‌جستن

ز چنگ خشک نی ناگه بجست و کرد تر ناخن

بهازی ناخن من گر لبت را خست ازین مشکن

که بهر چاشنی دارند گه گه در شکر ناخن

سر ناخن چو غمزه تیز دار ای جان که چنگی را

بر انگشتان نباشد جز به تیزی معتبر ناخن

بیاورده بلطف از مهر دلداری که با رویت

عروس ماه خون دل ز رشک آورده در ناخن

---

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, pp. 96-99.

مئی چون خون خرگوشم بهاد مجلس شاهی
که قهر او بکند از پنجهٔ شهران نر ناخن

شهنشه ناصر دنیا و دین محمود کز عدلش
بمنقار افکند تیهو ز باز تیز تر ناخن

ز جور چرخ کار خصمش آمد در ضرر شاید
که از حجام تا استاد باشد در ضرر ناخن

سزد کز هیبت شاهین عدلش در گریز اکنون
چو پر ناخن بیندازد عقاب نیشتر ناخن

برای آنکه پیش قدرش از غیرت سری خارد
فلک هر ماه زان بنماید از جرم قمر ناخن

بجنب عنبرین گرد سمندش گرد در نافه
شده بیقدر چون گردی که باشد زیر هر ناخن

خدنگش گوئی انگشتیست بر دست ظفر کورا
ز روی صورت آمد برگ بید جان شکر ناخن

چو انگشتی که گر خواهد بحکم نیزهٔ هندی
نشاند در ضمیر آهن و قلب حجر ناخن

نهاده تیغ قهرش بر رخ دشمن چنان داغی
که می ماند بروی مادر از سوز پسر ناخن

بکمن جان خصم بد نزادش تیز کرده بهن
گزازان قضا دندان و شهران قدر ناخن

عدویت کی شود چون تو بخنجر کی رسد گرچه
چو خنجر میکند پیدا که آن گاهی گهر ناخن

خیالش گر زند ره کو نهد انگشت بر حرفت
بدست او هبا گردد سر انگشت هدر ناخن

پناه روی عالم شد دم تیغ تو خوش نبود
پس پشت سر انگشتان اگر نبود سپر ناخن

حسود از ناخن جرات اگر کهن تو میتازد
مگر مسکین نمی داند که باشد زهر گر ناخن

شها مگذار تا از بهر چنگ روزگار من
زند بر همدگر هر لحظه چرخ کهنه ور ناخن

ردیف ناخن آوردم درین شعریکه سحر آمد
بلی در سحر کار آید بسان موی سر ناخن

TRANSLATION.

When my loved one takes the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail, her nail strikes Nāhid with a hundred wounds in the heart though envy.

Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhīd at that instant. Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.

Consider the *henna* on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip do not be vexed at that, because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness, because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shahanshah Nasir-i-Dunya wa-Din Mahmud, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin, just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though

his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lion of Destiny their claws.

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment like a finger nail.

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world, if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envier of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous.

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate.

I have brought in the word nail (nākhun) as "radīf" in this poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail.

'Amīd is the last of those glorious Indian poets who flourished before Khusraw. His full name was Khwājah 'Amīd-u'd-Dīn and he bore the title of Fakhr-u'l-Mulk*. Taqī Auḥadī† wrongly gives his date of birth as A. H. 655.

*'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464b.

† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Ashiqīn, fol. 464b.

He was born in A. H. 601, as is evident from his own verses quoted in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh*:—

یارب اگرچه پهن ازین بود مرا دل و جگر
خستهٔ دلبر چگل بستهٔ گلرخ یمک
در سر نون و دال عمر از پس خا و نون وها
شکر که مرغ همتم رست بجهد ازین شرک

He was born in Sanām†, and it was on account of him that the name of this place is still remembered.

According to the author of the Gul-i-R'anā‡, Sanām was a small town of the dependency of Sindh. He states:—

"سنام قصبه‌ایست از توابع سهرند"

In the historical works we find a mention of

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, pp. 108-109.

† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464b.

‡ Gul-i-R'anā, fol. 166b.

Sanam. From the Tarikh Firishtah* it appears that this town was situated in one of the districts of the frontier provinces. On the demise of Shir Khān (in the reign of Ghiyāth-u'd-Din Balban) Sanām and Samānā were granted to Amir Timūr Khān. Sometime after, the king made over Samānā and Sanām, as an estate to his younger son Karā Khān. It was in this town that 'Amid was brought up and educated. 'Amid enjoyed the greatest patronage†, under Tāj-u'l-Mulk Prince Muḥammad, the most talented son of Ghiyāth-u'd-Din Balban. He was a youth of great promise and showed much taste for literature. When he became the viceroy of the frontier provinces on the accession of Ghiyāth-u'd-Din Balban to the throne he showed great favours to 'Amid. From a poet of the Court 'Amid was raised to the post of the controller of all the states of Hindustān.‡ He discharged

* Tārikh Firishtah, p. 78.
† Gul-i-R'anā, fol. 166b.
‡ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqin, fol. 464b.

his duties honestly, and the king in recognition of his good services conferred upon him the title of Fakhr-u'l-Mulk. He was, however, on account of some defalcation in the state's account, dismissed from his post and put into prison.* In one of his "qaṣīdas", quoted in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh,† bewailing his own misfortune he tried to exhonerate himself from all charges and states that he discharged his duties to the best of his ability and honesty :—

همدمانم هر یکی در شغل و من در بند حبس
حاش لله زین سخن تنها گنه من کرده ام
کار بر عکس است ورنه خود که روز بد کشد
شغل اشرافی که من بر وجهه احسن کرده ام

In the course of this imprisonment he composed‡ the "qaṣīda" with the *radif* of "بند". The entire "qaṣīda" has been quoted by 'Abdu'l-Qādir§. The royal wrath was pacified, and the poet was released from the prison.

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464b.
† Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, pp. 123-27.
‡ 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464b.
§ Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, pp. 109-113.

While in the service of Prince Muhammad, 'Amid amassed a large fortune. Taqi Auhadi states that besides being a great poet 'Amid patronised a number of poets. He encouraged Khusraw* and Mir Hasan in the cultivation of Persian poetry. The exact date of 'Amid's death is not known, but he seems to have predeceased his patron, "the martyr prince". In A. H. 683, this popular and promising prince Muhammad met his death at the hands of the Mongols, and every one was sadly affected by his death. Amir Khusraw and Mir Hasan along with others wrote long elegies over his death. We do not find any elegy composed by 'Amid commemorating this unfortunate event. Surely 'Amid was dead at that time, otherwise he must have composed an elegy on the death of his greatest patron. The statement of the author of the Ātashkadah† that 'Amid died at the age of 54 is wholly erroneous.

*'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464b.

† Ātashkadah, p. 152.

'Amīd was a man of great learning and well-versed in the art of poetry. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badaūnī in his Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh* remembers him with the lofty title of "ملک الملوک الکلام". Taqī Auḥadī† pays the following tribute to his knowledge and poetic ability :—

" عمیدالدین یکی از آعاظم حکما و افاضل قدما است عمید اقلیم سخنوری وحید زمان معنی پروری افتاب جهانگیر کمال مهر سپهر قدر و جلال نور فطرتش پنجه در پنجهٔ خورشید افکنده و علو فکرتش سر بر سه سپهر اثیر نهاده در صنائع و بدائع معانی بیانش سحر پرداز و در متانت و رزانت سخندانی دهنش صاحب اعجاز است "

About his undoubted talents the author of the Ātashkadah‡ makes the following statement :—

" عمیدالدین از آعاظم و افاضل قدماست و در مراسم سخن پردازی مهارت تمام داشته "

In short all the biographers are unanimous in their praise for 'Amīd's poetic ability and literary genius.

---

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, p. 96.
† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464a.
‡ Ātashkadah, p. 152.

'Amīd was a poet of great talent and originality. He went far beyond the down-trodden field of "qaṣīda"-writing and wrote many "ghazals". Some of his "ghazals" contain graceful verses and attain a high degree of excellence. He enriched the Persian poetry by writing "ghazals", for until his time very few of the Indian poets had tried their wit at "ghazal"-writing. His "ghazals" partake of the nature of "qaṣīdas", but are extremely flowing and melodious. They are usually the work of simple imagination. In "ghazal" it may be noted that 'Amīd's characteristic feature is the simplicity of diction combined with a natural flow which makes his poetry smooth and musical. 'Amīd generally sticks to one main idea in his "ghazals" throughout. For instance, when he talks of the beauty of the be loved, the same trend of thought pervades his whole "ghazal". The following which is a fine specimen of his "ghazal", has been quoted by Riḍā Qulī Khān :—*

* Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā, vol. I, p. 354.

روی تو پیرایهٔ صحن چمن
موی تو سرمایهٔ مشک ختن
بستهٔ گیسو تو صد دین و دل
خستهٔ بادام تو صد جان و تن
طرهٔ طرار تو عاشق فریب
غمزهٔ خونخوار تو لشکر شکن
فتنهٔ رفتار تو کبک دری
والهٔ رخسار تو هر مرد و زن
درگه خنده لب لعلیت شکست
رونق بیجاده و در عدن
زلف تو بر روی تو کوهی که هست
سنبل پر خم زده بر نسترن
نرگس جادوی تو هنگام ناز
آفت جان و دل مجروح من
بندهٔ خاک در تو شد عمید
آتش غم در دل و جانش مزن

Another "ghazal" will suffice for the purpose of illustration. It has been quoted by Taqi Auhadi :—*

گر ندهی عقل را بر لب در یار بار
بر دلم از غم مله خمره بهکهار بار

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 464b.

تا گل رویت شگفت هر نفس از رنگ تو
در جگر و دل شکست لعبت فرخار خار

در خم هر تار مو زلف تو دارد شبی
روز دلم کرده چون شب ازاں تار تار

دوش ببازار عشق شد دل و در هر قدم
کشتۀ چشم تو دید بر سر بازار زار

جور من از خامکی جور و عیار نوست
هیچکس را مباد همچو تو عیار یار

داری شفای دلت چون کرم خسروی
یکنفس این خسته را محرم این راز دار

'Amīd was also a satirist. He is one of the few older Persian poets who wrote satires. Unlike the other satirists his language is not coarse. The following is a fine piece of irony, which shows both the originality and fluency of the poet. The author of the Ātashkadah* quoting one of his satires makes the following remark :—

"این چند بیت از قطعۀ که در هزل نوشته شد ازوست بد نگفته "

This "qiṭ'a" which has also been quoted by Taqī Auḥadī† runs as follows :—

* Ātashkadah, p. 153.

† Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 465b.

خواجه بفزود و لیکن ز ورم
گشت مشغول و لیکن بشکم
میزبان بود و لیکن برباط
نانم آورد و لیکن بدرم
سر بر آورد و لیکن بفضول
دل تهی کرد و لیکن ز کرم
بس حریص است و لیکن بحرام
بس جواد است و لیکن بجرم
درش بگشاد و لیکن از بخل
لب فرو بست و لیکن ز کرم
خواجه رنجور و لیکن بفجور
خواجه مشغول و لیکن بشکم
دولتش باد و لیکن نه براه
نعمتش باد و لیکن شده کم
جاودان باد و لیکن بسفر
سالها باد و لیکن بسقم

Having dealt with 'Amīd's "ghazals" and satires let us pass on to his "qaṣīdas". Some of his "qaṣīdas" are most eloquent. The sentiments are throughout natural and sublime, the images are for the most part striking and just,

the diction at once elegant and animated; and the versification is everywhere equally smooth and flowing. For the purpose of illustration I give below the "tashbīb" of one of his "qaṣīdas", quoted by Taqī Auḥadī :*

دارم جفائی نو بنو زین چرخ ناخوش منظری
کوری کبودی کج روی عاقل کشی دون پروری
در موج دریای محن هستم اسیر و ممتحن
این کشتی مقصود من یارب ندارد لنگری
کرد این سپهر دون لقب بر من همه روزم چو شب
هرگز نبردم نزد لب بی خون دل یک ساغری
رخت امیدم برده شد جانم ز رنج آزرده شد
شاخ طرب پژمرده شد بی آب چون نیلوفری
برد از من خسته جگر گردون بغارت سیم و زر
من ماندم و نقد هنر بی اسپ و بی اسپه خری
دستم ز جور دهر دون زیر زنخ گشته ستون
دل در برم ز اندیشه خون غمگساری یاوری
برخیز بر عزم سفر زین جای ناخوش در گذر
کاندر تنور شیشه گر قیمت ندارد جوهری

* 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fol. 465b-466a.

The entire "qaṣīda" is in the same strain and is remarkable for its graceful style. At the end the poet vaunts that none of his contemporaries could compose verses, so elegant. He says :—

مثل عمید تر سخن ناورد دوران در زمن
نه در سپاهان و یمن نه در سمرقند و هری

'Amīd's claim to distinction rests on the fact that he was the first poet in India, to write the species of poem, entitled "munādhara" or *strife-poem.* Asadī of Ṭūs was the first Persian poet to develop and perfect this kind of poem. He is known to have composed fine "munādharāt", one of which "*Night and Day*" has been quoted by Dawlat Shāh*. Taqī Kāshī† quotes one of 'Amīd's *strife-poems* between "*Sword and Pen*". Taqī Auḥadī gives another of his *strife-poems* between "*Hemp and Wine.*" This poem has remained unrivalled in India, and claims our attention. This poem equals, if

* Khulāṣat-u'l-Ash'ār, fol. 348b-34 b.
† 'Urafāt-u'l-'Āshiqīn, fols. 465a.

not excels Asadī's "munādharāt". Some of its component verses are as follows :—

دی درمیان بادهٔ صافی مزاج و بنگ
در مصدر دماغ من افتاد شور و جنگ
بگشاد می زبان که منم دختر عنب
صافی تن و نشاط فزای عقیق رنگ
تا من سر از دریچهٔ خم در نمی کشم
نائست خون گرفته و خون خشک رود چنگ
گر در دهان زنگ ز من قطرهٔ چکد
بر روی شهر رنگ تفاوت کند زرنگ
ور موشکی ضعیف ز من جرعهٔ چشد
نشگفت اگر ز پنجه خراشد رخ پلنگ
مسک ز من برائحه گر نفس زند
بخشد گهر بدامن و لولو به سنگ و سنگ
خاصیت من این و تو ای بنگ خشک مغز
ذکر خواص خویش بمن گوی بیدرنگ
بنگ سبک سر از سر حدت زبان کشاد
کای نزد غفلت تو یکی شکر و شرنگ
من صوفیم ز خانقهٔ کیمای عقل
بر دامنم زنند حکیمان بطبع چنگ
وز قوت تخیل من هر زمان کنند
سحر حلال در صفت نو خطان شنگ

از تو یکی پیاله و صد معلت خمار
از من طلب علاج دل ناتوان و تنگ
لاتقربوا الصلوة بر اوراق نقش هست
ام الخبائث است هر آئینه از تو رنگ
می گفت منکر آیکه بمنصوص نیستی
نام تو بر صحیفه نیامد ز زیر سنگ
من در دهان شیر در آیم صبا صفت
تو برکلی ز روبهک سست پای لنگ
وانکه به بحر خرمیم غوطهٔ خورد
اندوه عمرها نهد اندر دم نهنگ
من لعل با طراوت و تو سهر بی نمک
نامم شراب صافی و نام تو خشک بنگ

In the course of the imprisonment which 'Amīd underwent he wrote many "qaṣīdas" bewailing his own misfortune. I give below some verses from one of his "ḥabsiyyāts" to show 'Amīd's power of introducing original and creative ideas. The whole of the poem is written in a graceful and felicitous style, and is one of his worthiest productions. The verses have considerable force and fire in them. Strength, purity and naturalness are great achievments

of 'Amīd's diction, and are ever at his command is all these verses. For beauty feeling and grace I do not feel any diffidence in placing it on the same level as the "ḥabsiyyāt" of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān or Khāqānī. The verses run as follows:—*

منکه چون سیمرغ در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
ماورای مرکز خاکی نشیمن کرده ام

ننگ هر مرغی درین بوم از چه معنی میکشم
رفته ام علقا صفت در کوه مسکن کرده ام

مرغ همت تا نگردد خرمن سفلی گرای
خرمن چرخش ز انجم پر ز ارزن کرده ام

مه چه خرمن میزند چون دانه ننماید بکس
من بجو سنگ مروت چند خرمن کرده ام

نو عروس بکر معنی را بنور معرفت
در شبستان خرد چون روز روشن کرده ام

سیر اجرام سپهر از جدول تقویم کن
نزد زیج ناطقه یک یک مبرهن کرده ام

در اکام چار حلقه کان ستام ملصریست
بس ریاضتها که من بر نفس توسن کرده ام

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh, pp. 123-127.

طوطی جان را که قالب گلشنش مسکو خش است
هر نفس دستان سرای سبز گلشن کرده ام
در بسی فن اهل حکمت را گران رفت پلوه
من دران صد گونه ره چون مرد یک فن کرده ام
گنج حکمت را ضمیر من چراغ افروز شد
در فتیلش تا ز نور عقل روغن کرده ام
گوهر اسرار معنی شد چنان حاصل که من
خاطر از گنجینهٔ اسرار مخزن کرده ام
شاهباز قدرت حق از کمین زد پنجهٔ
زان کبوتر وار در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
ره درین یک برج بی روزن نمودندم ولی
من بهمت ره برون از هفت روزن کرده ام
این نه بس آهنگر آوردم نوید بخت بد
گفتمش بر گردن از خونی بگردن کرده ام
مسند خورشید زرین تخت می زیبد مرا
حال را من تکیه بر کرسی آهن کرده ام
در گریبان سر فرو برد اژدهای هفت سر
تا من این مار دوسر در زیر دامن کرده ام
بند بیژن میکنندم عرض در چاه ستم
نی منیژه دیدم و نی جرم بیژن کرده ام
صبر بازوی تهمتن دارد از روی قیاس
قوت مخلص ببازوی تهمتن کرده ام

ناوک چرخ ستمگر بگذرد روشن ز پشت
گرچه روی صبر را از سهله جوشن کرده ام

تن غذا خواهست در بند غم و من راتبهش
شربت از خون و کباب از دل معجن کرده ام

دوستي با حرص کردم چون معهد از آز خون
زان قناعت را بروی خویش دشمن کرده ام

یارب از نخل کرم برگ و نوای من بده
مرغ جان را چون بتوحیدت نوازن کرده ام

آفتاب معرفت در سینه ام تابنده دار
چون گهرهای یقین را سینه معدن کرده ام

TRANSLATION.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Sīmurgh - I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.

Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land? I have gone like the ʽAnqā and have made my resting place in the mountains.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made

the harvest field of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is

like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant garden.

In many an art for which the scientists had no taste I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art.

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such a perfect way that I have made my mind the store-house of the treasury of secret knowledge.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower had not my ambition carried me for beyond the seven windows (of the sky).

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert whereas I am resting upon a hard iron prison seat.

The seven-headed dragon (the sky) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpant (night and day) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bīzhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manīzha nor have I committed the crime of Bīzhan.

Patience has the strength of Rustam, as one may say, I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the arm of Rustam-like patience.

The shaft of the tryannical heavens passed through and through from the back, although I

had armed my breast with the cuirass of patience.

My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart as its meat.

have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour. I have made the bird of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity.

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

In concluding the account of 'Amīd I feel greatly justified in regarding him as one of the greatest classical Persian poets of India. He was certainly one of the most talented and versatile genius of his time. His poetic style, whether simple or sumptuous, abstract or full of images, luminous or lacklusture, is always flexible of texture. His great success in numerous

realms of Persian poetry deserves our enthusiastic admiration. Indeed he was a worthy predecessor of Khusraw.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

Gibbon in his autobiography speaks of the feeling of loneliness that came over him as if he had parted from a constant and pleasant companion when he had written the last sentence of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* I feel the same reluctance and regret at parting from this humbler friend. My time has passed pleasantly in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, my mind thrown back to those early days in the company of poets, full of a great simplicity and beauty.

Unfortunately there have been things that have taken the edge off this pleasure. Names of books and chapter headings in Persian have ever been notorious for their romantic suggestiveness often yielding doubtful or valueless results to the hardy adventurer. Historians too are often not above this journalistic stunt; and

I have often waded through pages of some ill-written manuscript, thoroughly persuaded by the chapter heading that I could come across some great mine of information, drawing a blank. Often the "tadkira"-writers get confused about the names of poets and throw the reader in a veritable maze. The historians and biographers are hopelessly inadequate and often rambling. So it is impossible now to build up anything final and thoroughly adequate on these slender materials. I have tried to do my best to get the most out of meagre details. More puzzling is the task of unravelling the tangle these writers in their carelessness so often create. Here too I have done all I could to create cosmos out of chaos. How far I have succeeded will be best judged by my readers. I hope knowing my difficulties they will be indulgent towards my short-comings. It is an illmannered child, however that turns against its mother. If I have been sometimes severe towards these writers I could not help it. But my criticism cannot

blind me to the debt of gratitude I owe to them. Without them my work would have been impossible.

The reader of these early Indian poets is sure to discover one thing. They are no more imitators, no weak saplings, but full grown trees, with all the strength of maturity. The "qaṣīdas" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī have not been surpassed for their classical simplicity and dignity. The greatest of the Persian "qaṣīda"-writers, Anwarī is but a follower of his. The "ḥabsiyyāt" of Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān still remain incomparably the best poems in that genre. Even when they are juggling with words, as does Shihāb-u'd-Dīn Mihmarah in his "qaṣīdas" they do it better than others. The "munādharāt" of 'Amīd-u'd-Dīn are not a whit inferior to those of Asadī of Ṭūs. If the reader thinks I have succeeded in establishing these claims I shall consider my work to have borne fruit.

This work brings us to tne fringe of the age bestridden by the the towering figure of Amīr

Khusraw. He stands as a sharp dividing line between the "متقدمین" and "متوسطین" in poetry, and is himself great enough to deserve an absolutely independent treatment. I could not have ended this work except where it does end if I was to retain a sense of unity of the theme. If life permits and the little troubles that make up the sum total of life I shall try to survey the subsequent periods as well. As it is I hope I have not bungled the task I had set myself. In the pleasure I have felt in writing this work and the approval of the reader lies the greater part of my reward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī. — Dīwān. Ṭihrān, A.D. 1925.

Aḥmad 'Alī Hāshmī. — Makhzan-u'l-Gharā'ib (comp. A. H. 1218). Bankipore MS. No. 713.

Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī. — Haft Iqlīm (comp. A.H. 1028). Bankipore MS. No. 636.

Anwarī. — Dīwān. Lucknow, A.D. 1897.

'Awfī. — Lubāb-u'l-Albāb (comp. 7th cent. A.H.) Vol. I., Ed. Browne and Mīrzā Muḥammad. London, A. D. 1906.

'Awfī. — Lubāb-u'l-Albāb, Vol. II., Ed. Browne. London, A.D. 1903.

'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl. — Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm (comp. A. H. 1205). Bankipore MS. No. 708.

'Alī Qulī Khān Wālih. — Riyāḍ-u'sh-Shu'arā (comp. A.H. 1161). Bankipore MS. No. 693.

'Alī Shīr Qāni. — Tuḥfat-u'l-Kirām (comp. A.H. 1181). Bankipore MS. No. 479.

Badi-u'z-Zamān.	Sukhan wa Sukhanwarān. Ṭihrān, A.D. 1928.
Muḥammad Baqā.	Mir'at-u'l-'Ālam (comp. A. H. 1078). Bankipore MS. No. 477.
John Briggs.	The History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, Vol. I., London, A. D. 1829.
Muḥammad Ḥusain Burhān.	Burhān Qāt'i (comp. A. H. 1062). Calcutta, A. D. 1834.
Dawlat Shāh.	Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'arā (comp. A. H. 892). Ed Browne. London, A. D. 1901.
Elliot.	The History of India. Vol. IV., London, A. D. 1872.
Ghulām 'Alī Khān.	Khizāna-i-'Āmirah (comp. A.H. 1176). Cawnpore, A. D. 1900.
Ghulām 'Alī Khān.	Subḥat-u'l-Marjān fi Āthār-i-Hindūstān (comp. A.H. 1177). Bombay, A. D. 1885.
Ḥamd-u'llah Mustawfī.	Tārīkh Guzidah (comp. A. H. 730). London, A. D. 1910.

Husain Qali Khan.	Nishtar 'Ishq (comp. A. H 1233). Bankipore MS. No. 716
Ibn-u'l Athir.	al-Kāmil, Vol. X., Ed. Tornberg. Leyden, A.D. 1871.
Jamāl-u'd-Dīn-Husain Injū.	Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī (comp. A. H. 1017). Bankipore MS. No. 797.
Muhammad b. Khwānd.	Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā (comp. A. H 900) Bombay, A. D. 1854.
Mīr Khwānd.	Ḥabīb-u's-Siyar (comp. A. H 929). Bombay, A. D. 1857.
Khusraw.	Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl (comp A.H. 695). Bankipore MS. No. 125.
Khusraw.	Hasht Bihisht (comp. A. H. 701). 'Aligarh, A. D. 1917.
Lachhmī Narāyan.	Gul-i-R'anā (comp. A. H 1182). Bankipore MS. No. 701
Lutf 'Alī Baig Ādar.	Ātashkadah (comp. A.H. 1187) Bombay, A. D. 1860.
Mas'ūd-i-S'ād-i-Salmān.	Dīwān. Ṭihrān, A. D. 1879.
Minhāj-i-Sirāj.	Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī (comp. A. H 658). Bankipore MS. No. 451

Mirza Muhammad.	Mas'ūd-S'ad-i-Salmān. He ford, A. D. 1906.
Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī.	Chahār Maqālah (comp. A. 550). Ed. Mīrzā Muḥamm London, A. D. 1910.
'Abdu'l Qādir Badāunī.	Muntakhab-u't-Tawārīkh Vo I, II and III. (comp. A. 1004). Ed. Lees. Calcut A. D. 1868
	English Translation, Vol. Ranking. Calcutta, A. D. 18
Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah.	Tārīkh Firishtah (comp. A. 1018). Lucknow, A. D. 186
Rashid-u'd-Dīn Waṭwāṭ.	Ḥadā'i-qu's Sihir. Ed. 'Ab Iqbāl. Ṭihrān, A. D. 1928.
Ar-Rāwandī.	Rāḥat-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr (comp. A. 600). Ed. Iqbāl. London, A 1921.
Riḍā Qulī Khān.	Majm'a-u'l-Fuṣaḥā. Vols I II (comp. A. H. 1284). Ṭih A. D. 1878.